The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CX NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1920 No. 2849

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 161

EDITORIALS:

- A Platform for the Times 164
- The Mystery of the Exchanges 165
- The End of the New York Herald 166
- Prohibition Methods 166
- For the Suppression of Vice 167

BUILDING AN HONEST NEWSPAPER. By Upton Sinclair 168

THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED. By Robert L. Wolf 170

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE: Der Tag. By William MacDonald 171

OLAF. By Charles Wilbert Snow 172

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 173

CORRESPONDENCE 174

LITERATURE:

- What the Treaty Really Means. By Harold J. Laski 174
- The Philosophy of Conflict. By Preserved Smith 176
- A Trans-Mississippi Diogenes 176
- The Author's Author 177

DRAMA: The Power of Darkness. By Ludwig Lewisohn 178

ART: With Official Sanction. By N. N. 178

BOOKS OF THE WEEK 180

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE NATION PRESS, INC.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor — HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, Managing Editor

WILLIAM MacDONALD, ARTHUR WARNER, Associate Editors — FREDA KIRCHWEY, MABEL H. B. MUSSEY

CARL VAN DOREN, Literary Editor

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agents for Subscriptions and Advertising: Swarthmore Press, Ltd., 72 Oxford St., London.

VISCOUNT GREY'S letter about the treaty situation, addressed to the London *Times* and republished in this country, is as a whole a generous discussion both of the attitude of the Senate and of the state of American public opinion. Viscount Grey acquits the Senate of the charge of bad faith in refusing to ratify the treaty, pointing out that the Senate possesses under the Constitution full right of independent action in the matter of ratification, and is under no obligation to agree with the President. The charge that the Senate is merely playing politics with the question is also put at one side, on the ground that while partisan advantage is doubtless one of the grounds of opposition, there are other more weighty reasons which have governed. It is gratifying to find an Englishman of Viscount Grey's distinction who perceives that the United States can hardly be expected to abandon, at the word of command, its time-honored policy of non-interference in European affairs, and to embark upon a course such as the League of Nations marks out for it. When it comes to suggesting how the *impasse* is to be circumvented, however, the letter is not profound. Viscount Grey makes it clear that Great Britain ought to meet the United States at least halfway when it comes to amendments or reservations, apparently assuming that if the covenant of the League of Nations can only be patched up all the rest will be plain sailing. This is quietly to ignore the fact that the covenant is only one part of the treaty, and that the other parts contain provisions which are both inexpedient and unjust. He is also positive in declaring that Great Britain and its Dominions will never agree to give up the six votes which the covenant accords to them. So long as the British Empire takes that position, the Senate can afford to stand by its guns.

THE collapse of the Lodge-Hitchcock efforts to effect a treaty compromise in the Senate brings out several facts quite clearly. An incredible amount of newspaper humbuggery from Washington has been foisted upon the public. At least half a dozen times we have been solemnly assured in the Washington dispatches that an agreement was at hand; whereas, to those really in touch with the situation, there was never any sure ground for asserting that agreement was in sight so long as the Democrats persisted in subordinating their own opinions to the White House leadership of six months ago. What has hopelessly handicapped Mr. Hitchcock is, of course, the fact that he is not in touch with the President. Even more striking is the fact that both sides to the treaty fight have got themselves into a quandary from which they do not seem able to extricate themselves, particularly now that the sparring for party advantage has grown more marked. The personal rivalry as to who shall move to bring up the treaty question again in the Senate is a contest for a doubtful honor, since if the question is taken up by a two-thirds vote, there will very likely be another interminable debate without closure. The obvious thing to do is the right one. The Senate should reject the treaty if it is again presented, pass the original Knox resolution declaring peace with Germany, and put itself on record in favor of a really democratic League of Nations.

WE must again raise the question of Mr. Wilson's health. The ill-advised attempt on the part of the Senate, some weeks ago, to learn the truth about Mr. Wilson's condition by having two of its members call upon him, was followed presently by a semi-official statement in the Baltimore *Sun* regarding the nature of Mr. Wilson's malady, and by one or two brief announcements that he was making encouraging progress. For a number of weeks, however, the President has practically dropped out of the news; so far as the public knows, he is not actually attending to executive duties; and Viscount Grey, the only envoy of high rank whom Great Britain has had at Washington for several months, has had to go home without presenting his credentials. Those who have the President in charge appear to be acting as though he were an hereditary monarch whose disability, however regrettable, may properly be concealed from the public; the Government, meantime, going on without him. Under the Constitution, however, the Vice-President has both the right and the duty to assume the functions of the President in case of the latter's disability. Is Mr. Wilson disabled, permanently or for an indefinite period, or not? If he is, why is the Vice-President not acting as President? If he is not, why this continued lack of evidence that he is performing the duties which the Constitution devolves upon him?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENCOURAGING signs of a revolt against the existing wave of reaction and official intolerance are multiplying. At New York, twenty-two Protestant bishops and clergy have had the courage to denounce not only the deportation of the Reds, but also all deportations that deny to aliens the fundamental right of a jury trial. At Philadelphia, Francis Fisher Kane, the United States District Attorney, has done himself the great credit of resigning his office as a protest against Attorney General Palmer's wholesale arrests, the advocacy of a peace-time sedition law, and the attempt to repress a political party which, as Mr. Kane believes, is not seeking to overthrow the government by force. At Minneapolis, a strong organization of world-war veterans has denounced the attacks upon free speech and, specifically, the attempt to oust the Socialists from the Assembly at Albany. At Hartford, President Hopkins of Dartmouth College has gone on record as emphatically as has Mr. Kane. At Washington, even Congress is beginning to listen, and the infamous Graham and Sterling bills have been taken under advisement. The spirit behind those bills, however, is only scotched, not dead; a new bill with "teeth" in it is promised, although so framed as to affect only persons who are guilty of violence. It is also announced that there are to be no more Red "Arks"; deportation will be managed a little more decently by shipping the victims of bureaucratic dislike in small groups on merchant vessels.

CONGRESSMAN BYRNES'S savage attack upon Admiral Sims and the move to dismiss the Admiral from the navy enforce the need of a thorough-going inquiry into that officer's allegations. Under no circumstances should the matter now be glossed over. The Government owes it to itself to insist upon a rigid investigation, all the more so as the affair is now taking a partisan turn, the Republicans upholding Sims and the Democrats assailing him as a slanderer of the navy. Mr. Byrnes was specific in his statement that Admiral Sims had falsified the facts, both in this country and while abroad, and a naval court of inquiry would seem inevitable even if there should not be a searching Congressional investigation. Meanwhile, Admiral Sims's assertion that he was told to be on his guard against England lest the wool be pulled over his eyes has given rise to bitter attacks upon the United States by two prominent English journals. The name of the official who gave Admiral Sims such instructions ought to be brought out, and every one of the Admiral's long list of allegations probed. Admiral Sims has rendered great service, and the burden of proof rests upon those who now accuse him of untruthfulness.

THE latest anti-Japanese campaign in California, led by Senator James D. Phelan, threatens to result in the enactment of drastic legislation prohibiting even American-born Japanese from owning or leasing farm lands in the State. A demand is also made for the abolition of the "gentlemen's agreement" between this Government and Japan under which the Japanese Government undertakes to prevent the emigration to the United States of Japanese laborers, and the substitution therefor of a rigorous immigration law excluding Japanese altogether. Senator Phelan has already introduced in the Senate a proposed Constitutional amendment excluding from citizenship all children born in this country of parents who are ineligible to citizenship. The campaign has been accompanied by the usual warnings of a coming Japanese invasion. The Japanese Government, as a concession to anti-Japanese sentiment in this country, has announced that after February 25 it will stop issuing passports to "picture brides," but this assurance has apparently done little to allay the hostile feeling which is being deliberately stirred up in California. Available statistics give little ground for excitement. The Japanese population of California is well under 100,000, while the land owned by Japanese at the end of 1918, according to figures compiled by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California, amounted to only 29,105 acres, and leased land to 336,721 acres; this in a State whose total area of farm land is nearly 28,000,000 acres.

NORTH DAKOTA'S experiment in State banking, now six months old, is already yielding interesting results. According to a bulletin just issued by Mr. F. W. Cathro, the director-general, of the $100,000 appropriated to defray the cost of organization only $23,954.10 was used, which amount has already been paid back out of profits, while another $40,000 has been carried to surplus—a really remarkable showing for so short a period. The capital of $2,000,000 was provided by a State bond issue, and the institution is the depositary of public funds amounting to $13,579,471.70, on which a uniform interest rate of 2 per cent. is paid to the richest city and the poorest school district alike. The bank is authorized to make farm loans and to finance the proposed State industries, but the bond issues voted for those purposes have been held up pending the settlement of a taxpayers' suit which has been carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, following decisions in both the State Supreme Court and the United States District Court sustaining the validity of the issues. Mr. Cathro believes that the bank may succeed in lowering the average rate on farm loans by 2 per cent. Bank operations have begun under conditions of great difficulty, as the State has had the most serious crop failure in thirty years; in addition, it is pointed out, "there has for months been carried on a widespread, false, and destructive propaganda, evidently intended to destroy confidence in the people of North Dakota, their government, and their industries." The ultimate outcome of the experiment will be watched with interest.

FACED with the alternative of accepting either the compromise plan arrived at by Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau or the Adriatic provisions of the Treaty of London, the Jugoslav Government has decided to avoid both horns of the dilemma by arranging a delay. The authorities at Belgrade have replied, quite pointedly, that as the Treaty of London was a secret agreement they have no official knowledge of its terms; and they have asked to be supplied with a copy. They have also asked what guarantees can be given that either proposed settlement will be made effective, since Italy has admitted its inability to dispose of Captain d'Annunzio. It is evident that neither of the plans offered is acceptable to the Government of Jugoslavia. The terms of the Treaty of London have long since been acknowledged to be defensible on strategic and dynastic grounds alone; while the new compromise arrangement, making free ports of Fiume and Zara, and creating an Italian corridor to join Fiume with Italy's slice of Istria, is almost equally distasteful to the Jugoslavs. One aspect

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the compromise plan that deserves more attention than it has so far received is the cold-blooded partition of Albania between Jugoslavia, Greece, and Italy, leaving a small and dangerously weak bit of territory around Durazzo as an independent Albanian state. Throughout the war, Albania declared its desire to remain free and united under either international protection or the protection of some Great Power. The independence of Albania was proclaimed during the war on behalf of France and of Italy, and their honor is now at stake in its partition.

THE Italian railway strike and the other strikes that followed it seem about to collapse for lack of support from labor itself. Recent dispatches indicate that the strike was only in part economic, and that the workers in the south of Italy failed to support the radical program of the strikers. The Italian railways are nationalized, and the men demanded, in addition to a universal application of the eight-hour day and a minimum wage of 5,400 lire, equal representation with the state on the railway administrative council. They have refused the Government's offer of four places on the council, immediate application of the eight-hour rule, and recognition of the union. The Government has flatly refused the wage demand on the ground that the present railway deficit of $100,000,000 would be increased to $260,000,000. Whether, as the workers insist, the addition of union representatives to the administrative council would so increase efficiency as to wipe out the deficit, is hard to say. Doubtless the elimination of the drain upon the railways caused by the present system of free passes or reduced rates for senators, deputies, state employees, and the families of all three groups; soldiers, newspaper men, and members of religious orders, would do much toward balancing an increased wage.

ONE of the first acts of the Czecho-Slovak Republic was to create a Department of Social Welfare. The first report of the Minister, Dr. Karel Winter, issued at the end of December, is an encouraging account of progress and a suggestive indication of things yet to be done. The work of the Department is carried on through three sub-divisions, dealing respectively with children, war sufferers, and workers; the general policy, however, apparently is to give government aid to existing institutions rather than to establish new ones. The children's section concerns itself with such matters as child labor, shelters and consultation offices for mothers and their babies, kindergartens, asylums, reformatories, institutions and colonies for defective children, and the like. The magnitude of the task which has confronted the war sufferers' section appears from the statement that as early as June, 1918, there were in Czecho-Slovakia no less than 210,000 men unfit for military service by reason of injuries received in the war, and that in August of the same year over 380,000 persons were deprived of support by the total incapacity or loss of the family provider. Medical aid, vocational training, and allowances from the state treasury have been made available for these persons. The workers' section manages a free employment bureau and deals with questions arising under laws granting a war bonus to the unemployed. establishing an eight-hour day, and providing health and accident insurance. Collective bargaining, both local and state, has, according to the report, been successfully established; while for the training of social workers a Women's Institute of Social Welfare has been organized. Dr. Winter ventures the opinion that the success with which these various problems have been attacked, while not perfect, nevertheless "demonstrates to the world that the confidence of the Allies was not misplaced, and that the culture and economic position of the Czecho-Slovaks entitled them to independence."

THE visit to this country of Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon and Dr. Winifred Cullis, of the University of London, and Mrs. Ida Smedley MacLean, an English student of physiological chemistry, should do something to increase interest in the proposed world federation of college women, the plans for which are in course of elaboration. The immediate object of the scheme, apparently, is to provide ways and means for the interchange of women students among the colleges and universities which are to be represented in the federation. Unlike the Rhodes scholarships, which are limited, so far as the United States is concerned, to graduates and which do not provide for any interchange of students among the countries concerned, the new plan contemplates general interchange among all the countries represented, and includes undergraduates as well as graduates. Not only will American students be encouraged to go abroad and foreign students be urged to come here, but Spanish students, for example, will be made welcome in France and French students in England. Whether or not the boycott of German universities which is just now favored in England and France is to have the open or tacit approval of the proposed federation does not appear, but we hope that no such attempt to prolong the war will be tolerated. One of the chief obstacles which American students who wish to study abroad have encountered thus far has been the difficulty of obtaining such academic recognition from American universities as will make their foreign work helpful to them in their later careers. It is to be hoped that the new federation will be able to remedy this.

AMERICAN college students have been so well taught to look upon knowledge as a thing to be measured off in sections, like joint snakes and sugar cane, that not a few of our undergraduates resent being expected as seniors to know what they "took" as freshmen. The honors degrees at Columbia College have shown the very definite benefits which come from requiring a student to work up some field of knowledge competently while at college, and to show his maturity and power before he leaves. Now comes the report that Harvard has adopted a scheme of comprehensive final examinations for all students in those divisions which are willing to accept tests of this nature—in this case, all the divisions under the Faculty of Arts and Sciences except pure science and mathematics. This is an intelligent and forward-looking experiment. Its advantages, if the scheme is administered with care, are that it calls for orderliness and plan and assimilation with respect to knowledge acquired, and that it arouses a sense of responsibility for full and ready information rarely aroused under the older system. The corollary of this new proposition, of course, is a decided reduction in the number of courses a man is expected to take, and an increase of the time which he can be allowed to give to the subject of his major concern. Knowledge is one, we constantly tell undergraduates, but we send them on so many paths that they seldom are able to find it out.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Platform for the Times

THE platform makers are not going to have an easy time of it this year. Astute party managers, whatever their political complexion, are beginning to realize that the old structures which have done duty in the past cannot be made to serve again, no matter how skilfully they may be painted and decorated; it is not even certain how much of the old material can safely be utilized in new construction. What is more, the official draughtsmen appear not to have agreed upon the plans, to say nothing of detailed specifications. The New York *Tribune*, which in years gone by was never in doubt as to what the Republicans ought to advocate or condemn, is now offering substantial money prizes to writers of the best planks; while Chairman Hays, of the Republican National Committee, has designated a group of 171 persons, some nineteen of whom are women, to sound the voters and find out what they want. When a party has to resort to display advertising and "going on the road" to learn what it shall say, the natural inference is that it does not yet know its own mind; which is the same thing as saying that it has no principles or convictions that it is not ready to change if a sufficient number of voters prefer something else. As for the Democrats, they have never had any principles since they surrendered, body and soul, to Mr. Wilson; and Mr. Wilson's principles, which for a time took the place of a party creed, have been declining rapidly of late in exchange value along with the pound and the franc.

The interesting thing about all this is that everybody knows what has caused it. American party leaders are perfectly well aware that the great majority of voters today are not partisans, but independents. Whatever the Republican and Democratic parties may have stood for in the past, it is clear enough that they do not stand now for anything distinctive, or for anything which to the average voter appears vital or real; while the fact that the two parties have tended, in various matters of practical policy, to approach one another has only tended to confirm the impression that both were about equally bad and that the one or the other was unnecessary. There are undoubtedly many thousands of voters, including, very significantly, many young men who this year will cast their first vote for President, who are Socialists in most of the essentials of their political thinking, but who are not recognized members of the Socialist party and do not carry a red card; just as there are other thousands who sympathize with the principles of the Nonpartisan League, or of the Labor party, or of the Committee of Forty-eight, but who are not identified with any of those organizations.

What do the independent and progressive voters of the country demand today of the party whose nominees they are asked to support? First of all, they demand a speedy and just peace with Germany—a peace which will not only end the state of war and restore normal relations between the two countries, but which will also embody the principles of humanity and honorable dealing which were repeatedly proclaimed by Mr. Wilson both before and after the United States entered the war. The party that shall champion the Treaty of Versailles as Mr. Wilson signed it, or even with the reservations which have been proposed, will hang a millstone about its neck. Further, the independent and progressive voters desire a genuinely democratic League of Nations, one in which all the nations of the world may meet in council for the maintenance of peace and the furtherance of their mutual interests, but in which great nations will have no prescriptive right to lord it over small ones, and from which militarism and navalism, offensive and defensive alliances, and mutual obligation to go to war will be absent. With this should go a frank repudiation of secret diplomacy, and a demand for an "open door" policy everywhere in foreign trade.

The situation is no less clear in regard to certain important domestic questions. The thought of the country is unquestionably turning strongly in the direction of Federal ownership or control of transportation, mines, forests, water power, and other natural resources or monopolies; and while existing property rights are to be regarded, the party which opposes government ownership or control on principle will make no appeal to the independent vote. The party will also be wise which pledges itself to the prompt payment of the debt, the establishment of a budget system, thoroughgoing economy in public expenditure, the drastic reduction of military and naval expenditure, and the reform of a banking and currency system under which a Federal Reserve bank is able to show a profit in a single year of 130 per cent. It should also go without saying that any American political party which, in the face of swollen fortunes and enormous business profits, expects to receive the support of independent voters, will insist upon free trade.

There remain two questions which, from whatever point of view they are regarded, are today of commanding importance. The first is liberty. Thanks to an autocratic Federal Administration for which a parallel is hardly to be found save in absolute monarchies of the old régime, personal and political liberty are today everywhere in danger in the United States. The arbitrary arrests of individuals on trumped-up charges, the breaking up or surveillance of public meetings, the censorship of mail and of the press, the maintenance of an army of Government spies and secret agents, the ousting from office of persons duly elected according to law because of membership in a political party which the Government has put under the ban, the torturing of prisoners, and the wresting of justice by administrative officials and the courts, have reached a point where little more is needed to precipitate a revolution. The party that will not denounce without equivocation these crimes against the Constitution, and demand the immediate restoration of free speech, free assembly, and a free press, is unworthy of the support of any honest American.

The other question is the Federal Constitution. There is a widespread feeling, rapidly becoming a conviction, that the Constitution, notwithstanding the excellence of some of its provisions, is in important respects in need of change; that the rigid system of government which it embodies actually encourages some of the very evils from which the people now suffer, and enables the representatives of the people to intrench themselves in autocratic power and defeat the people's will; and that a Federal Convention, such as the Constitution itself provides, should be called by Congress to revise the Constitution and adapt it to present needs. The party that shall include such a demand in its platform will rally to its standard independent and progressive voters throughout the land.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Mystery of the Exchanges

THERE is little understanding of the facts underlying the present demoralization of the foreign exchanges. Under normal conditions, the so-called par of exchange between gold-standard countries depends on the amount of gold in their respective monetary units. Thus, the pound sterling contains the same amount of gold as $4.867 in American money, and sterling exchange before the war could not vary from this par by more than three cents without causing gold shipments, because three cents covered all costs of shipping a pound sterling of gold, and it was therefore cheaper to ship gold than to pay a debt of a pound with a bill of exchange that cost more than $4.897. $4.897 and $4.837 were the so-called "gold points." Similar conditions prevailed with other countries. The French franc, the Italian lira, and the Spanish peseta were each worth 19.3 cents; the German mark 23.8 cents, the Russian ruble 51.2 cents, the Japanese yen 49.9 cents. French exchange, however, is quoted in the form of so many francs to the dollar, 5.18 being the par. Fluctuations of the exchanges within the limits of the gold points were occasioned by any influence affecting the immediate payments to be made abroad or received from abroad. Sales of goods abroad, freight charges and banking and insurance commissions earned, interest due on foreign securities owned, and the sale of such securities held here, all depress the foreign exchanges by creating in our financial market quantities of foreign paper, which accordingly commands a low price. The converse transactions tend to raise foreign exchange rates. In the normal course of affairs the price of foreign exchange moved up and down with the immediate balance of such transactions, and if it moved too far in either direction, it was presently restored by gold shipments.

The war catastrophically destroyed all this finely balanced mechanism. America had great remittances to make on account of interest, loans falling due, and like charges; and the belligerents tried to draw funds home by selling securities and employing other expedients. Cable communication and shipping were paralyzed; gold shipment was impossible. On August 4, 1914, sterling exchange leaped to $7 and French exchange to three francs to the dollar; but by the end of the year rates were returning toward the normal. The belligerent Governments, however, prohibited gold shipments except under their order, and with such action the exchanges lost their old significance. The gold standard as a common basis for world prices practically disappeared; all limit to the possible variation of exchange rates was gone.

During the remainder of the struggle the exchanges were largely the sport of Government financiers, who bent everything to the winning of the war. The British Government, for example, by controlling gold shipments, and by commandeering American securities in order to unload them on this market or use them as collateral for loans, was able to "peg" sterling exchange throughout the war at about $4.765, and French exchange was stabilized in the same way. During 1915 the United States bought back American securities of a total value exceeding $1,000,000,000, and in 1916 alone Americans loaned abroad almost $2,000,000,000. Despite such measures, exchange on Russia and the Central Powers became thoroughly disorganized, and continued to go from bad to worse.

The entrance of America into the war again changed matters. Congress authorized loans of $10,000,000,000 to the Allies, and advances of $7,000,000,000 previous to the armistice helped to hold up rates on the Allied exchanges, despite our huge exports. Meanwhile, rates on the neutral exchanges moved sharply against us; in April, 1918, Scandinavian exchange was at 28 per cent. premium, and Spanish no less than 55 per cent. The same condition prevailed as regards South America and the silver-using countries of the Far East, despite the fact that the United States exported almost $400,000,000 worth of silver during the years 1918 and 1919.

In March last, British Government support of exchange was withdrawn, and sterling declined irregularly to a low point of $3.49¼ during the past month, while francs fell to 13.42 to the dollar. German marks have been down to a cent; Austrian kronen (nominally 20.3 cents) are quoted at half a cent; and Russian rubles are practically unquotable. Speculation in foreign currencies is rampant. The Spanish Government has assumed control of the exchanges on finding that its citizens have a billion pesetas locked up in French francs, Italian lire, and other foreign moneys. While bullion movements and security sales exercise some influence in particular cases, competent authorities can see no end to the decline. The currencies of important parts of the world appear likely to become worthless, to all intents and purposes, in the American market.

The results are almost beyond calculation. Every warehouse in New York is reported filled with goods for export, on which the sellers have borrowed heavily from the banks. Each fresh decline in the exchanges goes further toward wiping out the value of the collateral for these loans. Moreover, the high price of American goods in foreign currencies is rapidly putting an end to the possibility of export business. A Belgian buyer of mining machinery for use in Mexico recently obtained American and German bids; translated into Belgian francs, the German figures were exactly 35 per cent. of the American. Europe is clamoring for American goods and cannot get back to work without them, but the exchange situation makes it impossible to pay for them except at ruinous prices. The situation has passed beyond the normal economic controls; beyond the control of Governments, hitherto apparently almost omnipotent; beyond the control of the banks, which cannot safely loan on European obligations that might require half a decade for liquidation. What, then, is to be done? If the world is not to be driven back to a system of barter, apparently the exchange situation must be in some degree corrected by credit, and there are only two sources from which credit can come. First, exporters may extend credit to the limit of their ability, under arrangements sanctioned by our new export laws. The joining of the Baldwin and the American Locomotive Works in an export association appears to be a case in point. Second, the American investor may be induced to take an interest in European securities issued for productive purposes; but with the extraordinary yield of domestic issues the undertaking seems almost impossible, particularly as two out of the last three foreign loans failed to appeal to Wall Street. Yet a correction of the existing exchange situation seems to be a necessary condition of the prevention of world-wide economic chaos, and the extension of credit by business men and investors is the condition of such correction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The End of the New York Herald

WHAT Mr. Munsey's decision to combine the *Herald* and the *Sun* means is the passing of the former. In vain he assures us that the personality of both is to be maintained in one paper. Not even the printing of both names will, we feel sure, be continued long. One cannot amalgamate two such distinct journalistic entities, the one still maintaining, after a fashion, the tradition of Charles A. Dana, the other now only the ghost of what was once, under the Bennetts, father and son, the greatest gatherer of news in the world. The ethical contributions of these three men to American journalism would be hard to discover, but it is a fact that Dana produced the most conscienceless and best written newspaper in America, and that the Bennetts were the progenitors of the flashy and vulgar journalism of today at the same time that they created the only American newspaper with a great international reputation.

Yet we share with the New York *World* the belief that the *Herald* could have been saved and that Mr. Munsey's decision is profoundly to be regretted. In saying this we do not forget our repeated assertions that there are too many dailies in New York and that consolidations are inevitable. But the *Herald* still had much of its old reputation and its specialties, like its unrivalled domination of the shipping field, to build upon. Behind it was still the memory of the greatest news achievements ever recorded by any journal, such as the Jeannette's voyage to the Arctic and Stanley's rescue of Livingston in darkest Africa. It is doubtless true that the *Herald's* printing-plant is out of date and that its unique building will pass to the owners of the land within a year and a half; but if these physical facts were controlling factors, why buy the paper? Mr. Munsey can give himself no real assurance that any definite proportion of the *Herald's* readers will flock to the *Sun*, instead of turning elsewhere for their daily news provender. It is reported that Mr. Munsey paid four million dollars for the *Herald*, the *Telegram*, and the Paris *Herald*. If he paid a quarter of that sum for the *Herald*, it is a high price for the gamble of adding eighty thousand readers to the *Sun*. There are several large evening newspaper plants in New York which are idle half of the twenty-four hours, and any one of them could have printed the *Herald* if there were not time to establish a new home for it.

But we are quite willing to admit that it would not have been worth while to have continued the *Herald* as it was, even if the great financial loss involved could have been avoided. We are, however, bold enough to believe that this was an opportune moment in which to re-create a once great newspaper. The country longs for unbiassed news facts. It is seething with unrest and emotion, it stands face to face with conditions and economic circumstances wholly unprecedented in its own experience, and it is not being given the truthful information upon which to base sound judgments and decisions. The great mass of the people believe that their interests are without that representation in the press to which they are entitled, and to the press they are more and more applying an ugly name. Our great dailies are read because they have to be read, but their reliability is everywhere a by-word. Mr. Munsey had an opportunity to make the *Herald* a recorder of all currents of opinion, to build up a great clientèle by an unassailable reputation for scrupulous accuracy and fair-play, by presenting the liberal and radical point of view as well as the conservative, by printing sober facts in clear-cut, honest, and intelligent fashion. The success of the *Times* is founded on its reputation for printing a great volume of news, albeit often as colored and one-sided as that of the Socialist dailies. A *Herald* which devoted itself to non-partisan news-gathering and to the actual printing of "all the news that's fit to print" could succeed as surely as the *Christian Science Monitor*, for example, has done, and as the *Herald* once did. Even in anti-slavery days, violently pro-slavery as it was, the *Herald* nevertheless gave the news—it published the best news of the John Brown raid that was printed anywhere—and truthful stenographic reports of anti-slavery meetings. It is no wonder that, lacking such a paper, we have proposals like that of Mr. Sinclair, printed elsewhere in this issue, for a really reliable and informative journal.

The opportunity is surely present, and perhaps some one will yet be shrewd enough to seize it. What Mr. Munsey is aiming at in journalism is not clear. In combining the *Sun* and the *Herald* he extinguishes the very valuable Associated Press membership of the *Herald*, while his *Evening Sun* is without such membership and the *Telegram* possesses one. Normally, the suppression of the *Telegram*, that pink drab of lowest journalism, would have seemed a blessed and a natural course. In acquiring the Paris *Herald* Mr. Munsey has a great opportunity to serve his country by transforming that journalistic freak into a European daily worthy of American ideals.

Prohibitionist Methods

THE leaders of the prohibition forces seem to be in a fair way to offset the success which they have recently won by bringing both prohibition and the Eighteenth Amendment into contempt. Whatever differences of opinion there may be as to the wisdom or expediency of national prohibition, it is probable that the Eighteenth Amendment represents, on the whole, the wishes of a very large minority, if not an actual majority, of the American people. We think it unlikely that the Supreme Court, if it can be brought to the point of passing upon the question of constitutionality at all, will set the Amendment aside merely because of some formal irregularity in the process of ratification. Such extraordinary rigor of enforcement, however, as is now contemplated is little likely to commend prohibition to thoughtful persons; on the contrary, it is almost certain to bring about a reaction which may go a long way toward nullifying the Amendment and the laws under which the Amendment is to be carried into effect.

The array of official machinery which has been assembled for the purpose of making and keeping the country dry has never been equalled, or indeed approached, in connection with the application of any previous Amendment or the enforcement of any law. The prohibition of the manufacture or sale of alcoholic liquors for beverage uses, which is after all the thing which the Amendment puts under the ban, has unexpectedly assumed a place of comparatively small importance in the public eye. A small army of Federal officials is busily engaged in searching buildings, trains,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vessels, express wagons, and private conveyances. and in spying upon individuals. The most extraordinary regulations which the country has ever seen, prescribing in minute detail the conditions under which privately-owned liquors may be held, used, or transported, have been published broadcast, while the newspapers have vied with one another in framing lists of "don'ts" for the warning of the public. Even the legitimate sale of liquors for medicinal purposes has been hedged about with such onerous restrictions that many responsible druggists have declared that they will no longer carry liquors of any kind in stock, and the medical fraternity has begun to revolt. The outbreak of influenza in New York city forced a modification of the drug store restrictions in the interest of humanity, but it is hard to justify a procedure which makes it practically impossible for a sufferer to obtain liquor on a reputable physician's prescription unless there are some thousands of other sufferers to keep him company.

More significant than drastic inquisition and regulation are the temper and purpose which apparently lie back of them. The enforcement of prohibition is not to be left to the Government alone, but is to be seen to by private persons. The spokesmen of various societies which have been working to secure the Amendment have passed from confidence and power to arrogance and political coercion. Such a spokesman in New York impudently tells the members of the Legislature what kind of an enforcement act will be acceptable, and that it will be that act or none. The legislator, whether in a State or in Congress, who today opposes any of the drastic proposals emanating from the prohibition interests, still puts his political future in jeopardy. Moreover, although it is the recognized business of the Federal government to enforce its own laws, and not to leave their enforcement to the States or to organizations of citizens, the prohibition forces now promise rigorous enforcement laws in every State and continued activity on the part of private persons to see that the laws are obeyed. One cannot but wonder if there is not some ominous lack of popular support for a régime which requires such extraordinary effort for its maintenance.

To crown the structure, the campaign for a dry world is now to be vigorously pushed. It is already announced that the Prohibition party, when it meets in national convention a few months hence, will take up the question of carrying its activities into foreign countries. If the party takes any such action, a curious situation will be presented. The country has not forgotten the resentment against the Imperial German Government for carrying on political propaganda here during the war; and there was no small resentment at the lavish efforts of the British Government in the same field. More recently, the attempts of the Russian Government to put its case before the American public have met with an extremely hostile reception. In neither of these cases, however, was any attempt made to force changes in the Constitution or laws of this country or to alter the social habits of the people. What will be the international situation if an American political party undertakes to support, or even to inspire, a prohibition campaign abroad? Yet the financial power of the prohibitionists and the overbearing methods to which they stoop make the proposal a real menace. We sincerely hope that the Prohibition party will be better advised than to embark upon a course which every foreign Government may properly resent as an unwarranted interference with its domestic affairs.

For the Suppression of Vice

THE worst thing about an absurd law is that the country which has one always has also some group of citizens whose passion it is to see that such a law is carried out to the letter. Being literal, they are commonly wrong when it comes to anything that touches the imagination. Being respectable, they commonly have the backing of the virtuous mob which habitually gathers when there are accusations in the air. Even France prosecuted "Madame Bovary"; liberty-loving England hounded Thomas Hardy from fiction to verse because he published "Jude the Obscure"; while in the United States the moral lynchers have been out and busy for many years. They howled themselves hoarse, up and down the land, over Hiram Powers's austere Greek Slave. Boston had such a spasm over Macmonnies's glad, blithe, radiant Bacchante with her jolly baby that one of Boston's guardians spoke for the public when he called the statue "an inebriated reeling female and a depraved infant." and the *Literary World* declared McKim's gift to be "an affront of the grossest character to the best sentiments of the community." The latest episode is the condemnation of "Madeleine" as an indecent book, with the concomitant gymnastics of the Society for the Suppression of Vice.

Nothing is to be gained by abusing the Society; when the Society confines itself to what is really vicious, it does useful work. Little is to be gained by defending "Madeleine," which is not a great book, though neither is it seductive. A better case could be made out for the charge that the law and the Society together have it in their power to hedge American literature within the bounds of milk-and-water, where sex is all pink and white, where lambs continually bound, and no lawless tigers ever venture in. But what matters most of all is that here again the expert is neglected, and in his place the unimaginative and the prurient make the decision in an intellectual matter.

We cannot help wondering how long it will be before the Society for the Suppression of Vice takes a hand with the classics. Is it eager to shield a vested interest? Is it in the state of mind in which Pitt refused to prosecute Godwin because "Political Justice" was published at three guineas a set and "a three guinea book could never do much harm among those who had not three shillings to spare"? Surely the Society's agents know that they can go into any bookshop in any American city and purchase, in the well-known red binding with the white label, books by Rousseau, Rabelais, La Fontaine, Boccaccio, Balzac, Gautier, and Marguerite of Navarre beside which, by the Society's standards, "Madeleine" must seem tame and flat. Fielding and Smollett are not on the index. "Moll Flanders" and "Roxana" can be bought without whispering to the clerk. Dr. Sanger's book is everywhere set forth in plain sight, while Krafft-Ebing can be had for the asking—to say nothing of certain works by Payne Knight and John Davenport and John Addington Symonds which are listed in catalogue after catalogue. Burton's "Thousand and One Nights" exists in numerous editions and reprints. The curious in such matters may, without much searching, discover here and there the complete works of William Shakespeare, or even a widely circulated collection of ancient Hebrew literature which recounts, among many other things, the major and minor peccadilloes of the patriarchs. The Society's agents are not really on their job.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Building an Honest Newspaper

By UPTON SINCLAIR

FOR the past twenty years the writer has been collecting data concerning American journalism. For the past year he has been putting the facts into a book. His general conclusions may be summed up as follows.

American newspapers and magazines are great capitalist institutions, operated under the capitalist system, and in the interest of that system, serving private and not public interests. Not merely in the advertisements and the editorials, but in the news columns, American newspapers give false accounts of current history: first, by the broad and general method of elimination, the suppression of vast masses of current news unfavorable to the interests which control the papers; second, by distortion of such news as is actually published, and frequently by the invention of deliberate falsehoods; and third, by the refusal to publish corrections of such falsehoods, or to give to those misrepresented any opportunity to defend themselves. The war has made "propaganda" an international word and an international phenomenon. The masses of the American people are today fed upon capitalist propaganda in the guise of news. News is the raw material of thought, and until the people have honest news, they cannot be expected to do any intelligent thinking whatever.

There is a mass of vitally important truth, known day by day to all live newspaper men, but deliberately withheld from the general public, as is proved by the testimony of scores of newspaper men known to me. I personally get this news, slowly and laboriously, by the method of reading one or two hundred newspapers and magazines from all parts of the world. I can put my finger each week upon a score or perhaps a hundred hints of news, and of places where "big stories" are buried. If I had an editorial staff, some trained investigators, and the names of trustworthy correspondents in strategic places, I could dig out stories of such sensational interest as would stir the American people to their depths. Ten years ago this was being done by a dozen big magazines, and now it is not being done by a single one. Why? The big magazines have been bought by the big interests, and the "muck-rakers" have been turned out to silence or the soap-box.

Two or three months ago we had a coal strike. The Government obtained a court injunction, ordering the miners back to work, and the miners did not go back to work. Living in Southern California, and reading four Associated Press newspapers, I spent two weeks trying to find out whether or not the miners were going back to work. All the editors of these papers knew, and none of them would tell me. Again, we had a steel strike, and during its duration American institutions were generally suppressed throughout the centres of the industry. I knew about this, because I was reading a score or two of radical and labor papers. But the readers of ordinary newspapers and magazines were told practically nothing about it.

Or let us take the foreign news. For a year I was led to believe that the Bolsheviki had executed or imprisoned Peter Kropotkin. Some months ago Kropotkin wrote a letter to Georg Brandes, saying that he was well, had never been interfered with, and was strongly protesting against blockade and intervention in Russia. So far as I can learn, no capitalist newspaper in America has published this letter. The same is true of Lincoln Steffens's report of Russia, when he returned from Moscow last fall; of the early offers of peace made by the Soviets; of the mutinies of French troops in Odessa; of an enormous body of facts about war profiteering; of the treatment of conscientious objectors, still tortured in American military dungeons. If there were a newspaper in which such news was regularly and continually presented in reliable form, that newspaper would become the most important in the country.

Note that I say "reliably presented." The radical papers, which alone have paid heed to such news, have for the most part not had the time, and in some cases have not had the desire, to make it accurate and reliable. Such papers are published out of the hard-wrung sweat of the workers, by men embittered by long contact with injustice, and eager to believe everything evil about their enemies. They abuse the capitalists, and the capitalists abuse them, and so goes the class struggle in journalism.

Now I make an appeal to my fellow men and women for a new standard of journalism: a newspaper which is published, not to make money, but to convey information; a newspaper which really, and not merely as a matter of advertising pretense, serves the public interest; a newspaper which takes the high oath of a juror, "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," and which not merely makes this pledge, but provides for itself a constitution and a code of laws which make it impossible for the pledge to be broken; a newspaper which is governed by its readers, and which, as regards its internal management, establishes with its readers, in firm and enduring good faith, a system of "open covenants openly arrived at."

Would you care to read such a paper if it existed? Will you help to establish such a paper, so that you may have it to read? I, for one, propose to devote my time and energy to making such a paper, for myself and for others. For a start of the enterprise, I propose an executive board, consisting of from twenty to twenty-five members, persons who have proved by life-long service that they believe in the truth, and are willing to stand by the truth. These people should belong to every shade of liberal thought. Purely by way of illustration, to show the type of person intended, I name twenty-three who happen to live in or near New York, and whom I should invite: Allan Benson, Alice Stone Blackwell, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Arthur Bullard, William C. Bullitt, Herbert Croly, Max Eastman, William Hard, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Hamilton Holt, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Paul Kellogg, Amos Pinchot, Charles Edward Russell, Lincoln Steffens, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Ida Tarbell, Col. William Boyce Thompson, Samuel Untermyer, Frank A. Vanderlip, Oswald Garrison Villard, Stephen S. Wise.

In the above list you will find men and women, Jews and Gentiles, Bolsheviks and liberal conservatives. You will find journalists, clergymen, financiers, lawyers—and so on. I believe that with such a selection of people, assuming that each were given equal opportunity to make his point of view effective in the paper, it would be impossible to suppress any important truth, or to publish, uncorrected,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any important falsehood. The question is: could such people work together? Would it be possible for any newspaper policy to be satisfactory to them all? The newspaper I am planning will publish no editorials. So it is not a question of getting these twenty-three to agree upon a policy concerning Russia or concerning the I. W. W. The only policy they have to consider is the policy of the *National News;* and that policy will be a fair chance for every man to be heard.

"What is truth?" asked Pilate, and stayed not for an answer. It is my idea that the directors of the *National News* should stay. Everyone who accepts a part of this responsibility should pledge himself in advance never to resign from the board. We do not resign from our country. No matter how wrong our country may go, our duty as citizens requires that we stand by, and try to set it right. I believe that a paper thus conducted will be so transparently and fascinatingly honest that everyone will be compelled to read it, the Anarchists and the Roman Catholics, the Communists and the Christian Scientists. As the columns of the paper will not be stuffed with advertisements, there will be space for all points of view to be represented.

Imagine yourself as editor-in-chief of the *National News*, duly elected by the board of directors, and having taken the oath of office: "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." The necessary funds have been raised, a business manager and staff have been engaged, an office has been equipped and a contract with a printing-house signed. You have provided yourself with a staff of competent assistants whom you trust, and are ready for the task of presenting once a week—not all the news, for that is manifestly a physical impossibility—but that news which is most vitally important, that news which is being slighted by the big commercial publications, that news which is necessary to the understanding of current history, and to the evolution of true democratic progress.

Your work falls into three main divisions, of which the simplest may be mentioned first. There come to the office papers from all parts of the world, and you have an exchange editor and a staff of translators, many of them volunteers, who help you to find what may be of vital importance in these papers. So you present to your readers Kropotkin's letter to Georg Brandes; Steffens's report about Russia, as published in the London *Daily Herald;* the news of the suppression of papers in Siberia by the American military authorities; the news of the condition of the babies of Vienna, of the Austrian prisoners in Japanese concentration camps in Siberia, of a new experiment in shop control in South Africa, or in coöperative agriculture in Sicily or Ireland.

Second, the events of the week come to you by cable from trusted correspondents in the leading capitals of the world; you have a letter from a Washington correspondent, and a letter from the scene of the steel strike, the coal strike, or whatever may be the great event of the week. You have a card-list of volunteer correspondents in all parts of the country, persons whose references you have carefully examined. When the Centralia incident occurs, you telegraph, let us say, to a professor in the University of Washington to proceed immediately to Centralia, at the paper's expense, and to telegraph one thousand words about what actually happened in the Centralia riot.

Third, your special articles, the most important and most difficult part of your task. You know how Lincoln Steffens did "The Shame of the Cities" in the old days. You know how Ray Stannard Baker did the Beef Trust, how Charles Edward Russell did the railroads, how *Collier's* did the Ballinger land-fraud scandals. You saw, just the other day, how Winthrop D. Lane did the subject of "Uncle Sam, Jailor," in the *Survey*. The *National News* would have several such investigators, and from a thousand sources all over the country would come to the editor suggestions as to what was of vital importance. Watching the world's events as from a high tower and with a powerful glass, you would see here and there where truth was being crucified and falsehood enthroned. You would choose the best man and say: "Go take a week, or a month, or several months if necessary, and get the facts. Find out if it is true that some coal operators are making eight hundred per cent. profit. I understand that the American Railway Mission, which is using American soldiers and American workingmen, holding them in Siberia under military discipline, is not under the orders of the American Government, and is having its expenses paid out of some mysterious private fund. Find out who puts up this money, and who gives these orders for a private war in Siberia. It is stated that members of the I. W. W. have been held in jail in Kansas for two years without bail, and without trial, and that they are being tortured in prison. Get the facts. Go to Allegheny County, and find out what has become of free speech, free press, and free assemblage in the steel towns. Interview mayors and chiefs of police, and get their point of view. When you get the facts, take them to Judge Gary, and see what he has to say about them. If he refuses to say anything, the American people will wish to know of his refusal."

As editor of the *National News*, you entertain yourself by a department entitled "Our Contemporaries." In this department you keep tab upon the big press agencies of the country, showing what actually happened, and what they sent out, and the corrections they refused to send out. You show what the capitalist press is publishing about critical events. You print their reports in one column and the facts in a parallel column. You write to the editors of these papers, calling for correction, and you publish their replies. So you provide for thousands of ardent propadandists material which they can take to their friends and fellow-workers in offices and shops; so you cause the subscription list of the *National News* to grow, and so you break the power of falsehood, and increase the power of truth.

There is another, and very important branch of your editorial activities, that dealing with "kicks" against yourself. Every important article will of course bring indignant protests. You have to weigh these protests. Are they honest? Are they sincere? Do they give facts? If so, they go into the paper, automatically, regardless of who is hit. If they are rejected, they go back to the writer with a clear and specific explanation of why they are rejected. "This letter is too long. Make it shorter, if you wish." "This letter deals in personalities. Rewrite it, if you wish." "This letter makes vague assertions. Prove them, if you can."

There are some subjects, such as the cost of living, about which it is possible to attain objective truth. There are other subjects about which men will not agree during our life-time. Concerning such questions, the board of directors will work out, and the editorial staff will follow, a set of precise and carefully formulated rules. Let us assume that during the year 1919 the board had listed the subject

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Soviet Russia as "Controversial, Class A 7." Persons come out from Russia, persons otherwise reliable and sane, telling absolutely contradictory stories, and calling one another frightful names. Upon such a subject the *National News* constitutes itself a place of debate, where all sides may fight it out. The editor considers that the subject is worth two pages per week, and so the partisans of each side have one page. The members of the board of directors who are especially keen about either side bring in what they consider important news. If Maxim Gorky goes over to the Soviets and defends them against foreign intervention, we print his article. If Andreiev appeals for foreign intervention, we publish his appeal. Thus you have *Soviet Russia* and *Struggling Russia* in the same paper, instead of having to subscribe for both. Each side answers the statements of the other, and the editor-in-chief has merely to see that the balance is held even, and that the disputants keep to the subject.

And then once a month the editor appears before the board of directors and the general public, and explains what he has done and is doing: why he published this article, and why he rejected that one. The directors say what they think of his actions, and their arguments, their complaints, their furies and denunciations, all have their apportioned measure of space in the *National News*. It is provided that every so often, say once every three months, every director of the paper may claim a column in which to state his opinion of the paper's policy, to point out where or how the paper is failing to keep its pledge. It is provided that whenever any three directors feel that the paper is slighting any subject of vital importance, or failing to give a fair hearing to any set of facts, these directors may demand a column in the paper for as long a period as they wish, in which to put before the readers whatever corrective they consider necessary.

It would be my idea that the directing board appointed at the outset should serve for two years, in order to get the paper thoroughly on its feet, and have its policies worked out and well tested. Then there should be a general election, in which every one who has been a subscriber to the paper for a year should have a vote; using, of course, a system of proportional representation, so that important minorities may have their due voice upon the board. I believe in the American people sufficiently to feel absolutely certain that they would appreciate this effort to treat them as mature human beings; that they would flock in great numbers to read the paper.

As to practical details, I have obtained from publishers of liberal sympathies in the East an estimate of the cost of running the *National News* as a weekly newspaper. It appears that we may have an honest paper if we will give one hundred thousand dollars in cash, and will pledge some thirty thousand dollars a year for two years to cover a possible deficit. Of course if we have more money, we can do it on a larger scale, and in better form. I shall try to raise as much as I can, and I call upon all who are interested to help. Let me make clear that I do not wish to handle any money. All that I ask is a pledge that you will contribute so much, or will get so many subscribers. I will get together an editorial board willing to serve, and this board will incorporate and elect a treasurer, to whom you may pay your contribution in due course. What I am doing here is to offer myself as a clearing-house, to get the plan under way. My address is Pasadena, California.

The Public Be Damned

By ROBERT L. WOLF

THE effort of President Wilson, in connection with his industrial conferences, to consult the interests of the public raises the question of who or what or where the public is. When uncharitable persons read Mr. Wilson's first list of the representatives of this most formidable of the estates, they began to wonder whom the National Association of Manufacturers could find left to appoint. Mr. Wilson had stolen all their thunderers. The roll read almost like a meeting of the National Security League or the Society for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, or the contributors to Billy Sunday's campaign fund. It is easy enough to find the public when the wall-paper hangers, let us say, are fighting their bosses: everybody who doesn't hang wall-paper or hire men to do it. But when the labor of the whole country is to confer with the capital of the whole country, who is then this gentleman?

It is indeed a puzzling problem, and, armed with the volumes of the census of 1910, we started on a stealthy hunt for the public. First, taking a hint from Mr. Wilson's own list, we decided to include the college professors. Men aloof from the struggle and unattached to either side—like Scott Nearing and Nicholas Murray Butler—must obviously belong to the public. But local No. 1 of the professors' union, Springfield, Illinois, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, rose up to confound us. Maybe you will say that affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is no indication of connection with the working class. Still it is ordinarily thought so. Moreover, if young college instructors do not belong in the lowest ranks of the proletariat, they must receive financial support from something beside their professional incomes. And if President Lowell, as the head of a $25,000,000 corporation, is not a captain of industry, he must be a lieutenant at the very least. No, the 15,668 college professors in the country are hardly more than semi-public, at the most.

Suddenly we thought of the editors of *The New Republic!* They were surely public, and that gave us seven to start with. The ministers of the Gospel would naturally be included, but those who are not busily engaged in blessing the Stock Exchange seem to be pretty largely in jail for opposing the draft. Still, the clergymen have no organizations, except church socialist leagues and church leagues for Americanism. Probably clergymen are the public—118,018 of them. That makes 118,025 altogether.

Physicians ought to belong to the public. Of course, when they are invited to labor conferences, they often raise embarrassing questions of the minimum amount necessary to maintain human beings in proper conditions, and some of them seem utterly unable to realize that there are higher things (like dividends) than social health. Still, very few of them carry their advocacy of such notions to unpractical —or should it be practical?—extremes. They are probably public. There are 151,132 of them. And 39,997 dentists, and 11,652 veterinary surgeons, and 4,368 authors, and 1,600 fortune tellers. And 105,180 politicians. They are certainly public. In fact, one is almost tempted to add a familiar and unpleasant noun to that adjective, for some of them. They are very public indeed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Altogether it makes, including the debatable college professors, a total of 447,622. Just one and seven-tenths per cent. of the adult male population of the country when the census of 1910 was taken, or nine-tenths of one per cent. of the adult male and female population combined. It must comprise a very important nine-tenths of one per cent. For we have Woodrow Wilson's own word for it that in all industrial questions it is the interests of the public that are of paramount importance. It seems as though there should be more of them.

We know a Quaker girl who belongs to the public, and who would bind up the wounds of both sides and turn the same quiet smile to taunts of "Bolshevik" or "capitalist" as to machine-gun bullets. Still that only makes 447,623. Not very much for a country of a hundred million, is it?

Foreign Correspondence

Der Tag*

Berlin, October 31

FOR the first time in several days the sun has shone clear and bright in this capital of a great lost cause. Up and down the stately Unter den Linden moves a steady stream of cabs and trucks and costly automobiles. Elaborate displays of luxury articles fill the show windows of the expensive shops. The fashionable Hotel Adlon was crowded at luncheon and at the tea hour, and will be crowded again at dinner and after the play. Tonight, at the theatres, there will be standing room only, and there will be no empty tables at the Ice Palace, where the well-dressed diners will applaud the exquisite grace and superb skill of the dancers. Over at the Reichstag building, where the official inquiry into the causes of the war has been in progress for several days, the leaders of society have been jostling one another for places; discussing later, over the teacups or the wine, the meaning of Count von Bernstorff's sensational testimony, asking whether von Bernstorff will "come back," and wondering that von Bethmann-Hollweg should have cut so poor a figure. For all this gay and gilded throng there is safety today in Berlin, even though robberies and murders in the Thiergarten and elsewhere are unpleasantly frequent; but the name of the man to whom, more than to any other, Berlin owes its present peace will not be mentioned as the glasses are raised, and will be pronounced, if it is pronounced at all, only with something suggestive of a hiss. The people who dance and dine and sport automobiles have no love for Herr Noske. I suspect that he, on his part, has little love for them.

Leaving out of account the fear of an Allied military occupation, it is clear enough that the controlling power today in Berlin, and to a considerable extent in Germany as a whole, is Herr Noske and his soldiers. The Noske army is something obvious and immediate, while the Allied forces, from the Berlin standpoint, are at least indefinite and remote. Herr Noske is admittedly a powerful person, as rugged in nature as he is in physique. Seen as I saw him the other night, in informal conversation over sandwiches and beer, he has a distinctly engaging personality; but when it is a question of keeping order in the city and allowing the operations of government to go on, this quiet-speaking man is ready to strike swiftly and hard. He is not lacking in shrewd common sense, also, as when he pointed out that the extent of the recent strike, which he had put down, had been much exaggerated, more than half of the so-called strikers being already out of work when the strike was called. What he proposes to insure, apparently, if he can, is order, not for the purpose of establishing a military dictatorship, but simply that the new government may have a chance to work. "The man who would start a violent revolution in Germany today," he declared, "is a fool."

Whatever may be thought of Herr Noske's course as head of the army or of the wisdom of bolstering up a government by force, it is evident enough, I think, that without support equivalent to that which Herr Noske has given, the Ebert Government would before now have passed into history. Neither Ebert, nor Scheidemann, nor Erzberger, the three conspicuous leaders of the present Government, are strong men; it would indeed be strange if they were. The Weimar Constitution, a notable document from many points of view and as good a scheme of government as probably could have been framed under the circumstances, has not caught the imagination of the German people or appealed to them as a thing of profound moral worth. No one fought to secure the blessings of the Weimar Constitution, and few, I fancy, would be willing to die for it now. The more one talks with Germans, particularly with Germans of the great middle class, the more one realizes that the self-government which Germany now enjoys is still a novel and unfamiliar thing, fuller as yet of problems than of recognized advantages. For the Kaiser and his circle one hears, indeed, few kindly words; the old régime is gone, to the infinite relief of the German people; but it was easier to be governed than to govern, especially when one was governed on the whole so well, and for the people to take up the burden which the Kaiser could no longer carry is as yet neither an easy nor an altogether welcome task.

There should be no surprise that, with such a condition of the public mind, parties wrangle and divide, and talk of a restoration of the monarchy is to be heard in many quarters. Such things are the inevitable accompaniments of the daybreak period of chill and fog when, with the old order passing, the new time has not yet fully come. Nor should one wonder that Bolshevism and communism, and all the other manifestations of a violent revolt of the masses against the classes, should be shaking Germany from end to end, and that the disturbance should be growing even though many of its outcroppings are for the time being suppressed.

A vast deal of nonsense has been written about German psychology, much of it by persons who ought to know better. Politics, however, are in considerable part the expression of a state of mind; and the most influential characteristic of the German mind today seems to me to be the consciousness of defeat. Anyone who imagines that Germany is not beaten, or that it must be held in stern subjection lest it spring again to arms, must be taking counsel of his fears or hopes rather than of obvious facts. Defeat—complete, disastrous, wellnigh irremediable—is written large across the face of German life and thought everywhere. It is not merely the Imperial Government that has been overthrown, the army and navy that have been crushed, the enormous load of debt that must henceforth be borne, or the appalling toll of killed and maimed, that hurts. It is the realization that independence has been sacrificed, that honorable position as a great nation has been lost, that

* The fifth of a series of letters describing conditions in Central Europe.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dreams of world empire and commanding influence in world councils have been shattered, that crushes the German spirit. It would be a mistake, I think, to assume that what weighs most heavily upon the German mind is its failure at arms or the wreck of its political schemes. Thanks to the continuance of anti-German propaganda since the armistice and the systematic attacks of French and English newspapers, Germany, even after the war is over and the peace has been signed, finds itself abused, slandered, misrepresented, traduced, and suspected, and this without protection or redress. When the Allies and the United States, having beaten Germany to its knees, enforced an armistice which despoiled the country, continued the blockade, herded the peace plenipotentiaries at Paris behind walls as though they were criminals, and permitted all sorts of plans for social and commercial discrimination after the peace to go on unchecked, Germany lost heart. It found itself regarded as an outcast among the nations, with every man's hand against it. It is from this depth of humiliation, and not merely from defeat, that Germany has to rebuild its political fortunes and reestablish its social life.

I can do no more than mention one or two characteristics of German political thinking which flow from this state of things. One is a bitter enmity toward France, which with only too much reason is believed to desire the destruction of Germany, and to be willing to adopt any means, however small or roundabout, to accomplish that end. Another is profound distrust of England, not indeed amounting to hatred as in the case of France, but extending to a belief that England will offer no strong resistance to the aggressive designs of France, and at heart will be glad to see Germany kept to a position of hopeless inferiority. Toward the United States, on the other hand, always excepting President Wilson, there is a pathetic feeling of friendliness. Of all the Great Powers, America alone is looked to to stand in the breach and save Germany from its enemies; from it alone may be expected, it is believed, the financial aid which will enable Germany to recover. One cannot but hope that such confidence in American justice and good faith will not prove to have been misplaced.

Meantime, there is some progress to be chronicled. The machinery of the Federal administration is slowly being set in motion. Many of the former civil functionaries are at their posts, and the routine duties of civil administration in States and local communities are going on much as before the revolution. Until the amount of indemnity which Germany must pay has been determined and trade has again been resumed freely, no complete financial program can be worked out; but the necessity of new and onerous taxes has been envisaged and a budget is being prepared. The supply of materials for manufactures is being administered with something of the old-time thoroughness, the number of factories in operation is increasing, and the rehabilitation of the railways has begun. The black clouds which darken the sky are the demoralization of exchange, for whose disorders no remedy is in sight; the absolute certainty of widespread distress from hunger and cold during the coming winter; and the growth of the revolutionary spirit among the masses. It is probable that the rifles and machine guns of Herr Noske's soldiers will be able to hold the populace in check a little longer; it is certain that they will be of little avail for any Government if the populace, driven to desperation by famine and cold, turns to revolution as its only hope.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Olaf

By CHARLES WILBERT SNOW

From Sweden forty years ago he came
And settled in our village on the coast
And cast his lot as one of us—a man
Who loved the sea as those alone can love her
Whose childhood longings have been stirred to life
In words made music by her mighty voice,
Recorded on the tender soul of youth.

I never knew a man who loved the sea
As Olaf loved her: seasons out of mind
In boyhood days have I beheld him loaf
The morning through, beside a shelving rock
In a little yellow dory, his right hand
Aclasp two eight-foot oars, a black clay pipe
Between his teeth; loaf long and long, and watch
The dark brown rockweed rise and fall, and rise
With motion not quite regular; watch, too,
The smoky-colored periwinkles cling,
Or zigzag through the green two fathoms down
And nestle on the bottom strewn with kelp,
And soggy wood, and star-fish pink and white;
Or take a listening mood and hold his breath
To hear the barnacles along the rocks
Disturb the silence of that quiet cove
With little seething, whispering monotones
That are, to mighty voices of the deep,
As chirrupings of song birds in the trees
To midnight forests crashing loud with storm.

I heeded in his steady eyes of gray
A glassy token which the old gray mother,
To mark him for her own, had spread about
His seaward-gazing countenance—a look
Found nowhere but in men who breast strong tides.

He seemed as much a part of that small cove
As did the crying sea-gulls on the bar.
He drifted at the ebbing of each tide
Out over the eel-grass to his lovely weir,
Between the island and the harbor's mouth,
And climbed the stakes to look for schools of herring.
For twenty years expectantly he pulled
His wherry to the weir and back again;
For twenty years he thought about the tides
And dreamed about the mystery of skies;
And sunsets played around his wrinkled cheeks
And lit them as they lit the rolling calm
Of waters stretching out to evening sea.

His first score years with us he was content
To tend his lobster-pots; but when he saw
His neighbors building weirs and growing rich
(A man who saves ten thousand we call rich)
He plunged with high adventure like the others,
Sold out his traps, and launched his life anew.
He paid a motley group of men, and worked
On pocket, pound, and leader, day and night,
Borne up by hope, co-partner to his dream.
His slender harvest garnered through full years

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of labor in our newer, freer land
He spent, and just as freely spent himself
And all he had, to make his weir catch herring.

At last the weir was built, the seine rigged up,
The float well moored, the hauling line repaired,
To set the seal on his immense desire.
Strong tides flowed in as only tides of spring
In that bleak northern land can flow: they rise
Full sixteen feet above low water-mark,
Overflood the wharfs, and loosen old dried rockweed,
Stuck through with sticks, tossed up a year before.
They set adrift old fishing barrels, tarred
To keep them water tight; and slabs of spruce
Thrown up by woman's hand for winter's fire;
And when all these come drifting with the tide
At twelve o'clock, their weird and motley shapes
So variegate the surface of the bight
That one imagines gorgeous treasure chests
Afloat from some old pirate ship of Spain,
Or ambergris of fabulous transcendence
Thrown off by a sick whale, near which there lurks
A sea-serpent cavorting on the waters;
And scores of other monsters dotted round
The sun-bedazzled surface of the sea.

But these tides came and went with never a catch
For Olaf in his fortune-tempting weir.

And more spring tides swept by, and, year by year,
They brought him only deeper poverty.

At times he wished he never had forgone
The steady work of lobstering, and plunged
The savings of his youth adventurously;
At times he vowed he never would rebuild
The weir another spring.

Then spring would come,
And with it come new hopes and new desires.
And always in the fancies of his mind,
Awakened by the fragrances of spring,
He saw a thousand shining bushels swim,
And show their cool green backs in darting schools,
Huge smacks impatient for the ebbing tide,
And seining time an hour of pure delight,
With herring boiling in the pound so thick
The purse-strings could not be drawn tight beneath
Until a dory load or two were dipped
To keep the bulging twine from bursting through;
He saw himself possessed of land and bonds,
A motorboat of twenty-seven knots,
And honored as a foremost citizen.

With this he drove new stakes and cut new brush,
Repaired the breaches winter ice had made,
Stretched out his leaders to the harbor's mouth,
Put twine around his pocket, tarred his seine;
And as he smelled the pungent, boiling tar,
He dreamed his April dreams of glorious hope.

He smiled upon his work indulgently:
For what is fairer on a cool, spring dusk,
When calmness overwhelms the friendly cove,
Than what he now beholds with leaping blood
Flowing as freely as a channel tide:
The perfect pattern of a herring weir—
Two magic circles touched by two long lines,
Distinct as white birch in a clump of spruce,
Harmonious lines, and brilliant colored lights,
Amid the sombre grays of high-tide rocks,
And breasts dark brown of island shores laid bare,
Whose fluttering pulses call the evening star
To hasten from southeastern corridors,
And crown the weir's round grace with one more charm?

But spring would pass, and long bright summer days
With southwest breezes every afternoon
For weeks together follow; yet, to him
The tides brought only added store of dream.

And so he lingers in his little skiff
While each succeeding moon beguiles the tides.
He scans each change the setting sun displays
While gliding down behind the darkening trees,
Before it rallies into final glory,
As dying men before they burst the clay
And take the secret vows of mortal fate.
And when the time of vows shall come to him
The hope that held him to the luring task
Will hold him on Pacific seas of death.

In the Driftway

WHERE was Dempsey when the fight went on? This is the question, the Drifter learns from his young friends, just now stirring the stalwarts of the American Legion and the Army, Navy, and Civilian Board of Boxing Control. It may be all very well for elderly liberals to wrangle over freedom of the press and assemblage and such highbrow matters, but the youth (or, as Mr. Mencken would say, the young yokelry) of America live nearer to realities. Their questions to the Smokeless Champion are short and sweet. "Do you not always arise and remove your hat when you hear the national anthem?" they ask; "What is the national anthem?" "What was the Lusitania? Where is Belgium? France? What is a rivet? Did you ever drive one?" "Is it true that your family was dependent upon you for support before you made your claim for exemption [or] . . . that you were a rider of brake-beams and that you returned to your home and folks in the days previous to your fight with Jess Willard only when you were 'broke and hungry'?" So the wounded officers in the hospital at Fox Hills, Staten Island. To the Drifter's ears this has a singularly classic sound. It reminds him of Coriolanus, of whom Plutarch and Shakespeare tell us that, though he had fought magnificently against the Volscians and had captured Corioli, when he came to ask the Romans for election to the consulate he could not bring himself to show his wounds in the forum, but was so haughty and reserved that the people turned against him and drove him from the city. History swings back along its ancient course. Where Coriolanus once stood now stands Dempsey. Without war there are no wounds, and without wounds there are no heroes, and without heroes there are no reverent followers.

THE DRIFTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Leaderless

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: For several months our country has had a chief executive in name only; is it not time that we provided ourselves with one in fact? Since the President was struck down in the early fall he has seen almost no one but his wife, his doctor, and his private secretary—even Colonel House and Mr. Lansing have been denied access to his presence. We do not know certainly the nature of his affliction (though we may guess it with some certainty of being right). We do not know what reports of the state of the nation are made to him or whether he is capable of dealing with any question that may be brought to his attention. We are not sure that the state papers issued over his signature are written by him. But we know beyond all doubt that the country is entering upon a critical period of its history which even threatens the stability of its form of government; the ship of state meanwhile is drifting through these perilous waters with no one at the wheel. Dr. Grayson tells us the President is progressing steadily. We all hope he is; but let us not delude ourselves into thinking that he is likely ever to recover completely from his stroke. Rest and freedom from strain of all kinds may in time bring back the semblance of normal health, but nothing can restore the vigor of mind and body needed to meet the coming struggle. Let us consider frankly: can the Government continue much longer without a chief? I, for one, doubt it. The Constitution provided for such an emergency. Let us avail ourselves of this provision.

New York, January 6 FRANCIS ROGERS

Our Self-Purifying Congress

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the expulsion of Victor Berger Congress has won a battle for "liberty and democracy" secondary only to the winning of the war; but has Congress gone far enough? Six Congressmen voted that Berger was entitled to his seat. Are they not almost as culpable as the Socialist from Milwaukee? Should not they, too, be expelled? Why not have that indefatigable patriot, Mr. Dallinger, draw up a resolution providing for their expulsion? Then, if some recalcitrant members should demur and vote in favor of these men, have them expelled also. By this process of natural refinement, the majority in every case purging itself of all dissenting elements, the lower House of Congress eventually would be composed only of unquestioned patriots of the character of Nicholas Longworth, Mr. Blanton, Mr. Mondell, "Uncle Joe" Cannon, and others of their ilk. The New York State Assembly might profitably adopt the same process.

Washington, D. C., January 11 J. Y. ASK

No Time for Poppycock

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since you attach enough importance to the curious postal card referendum of the American Bar Association to give it an editorial paragraph in your issue of January 17, you may be interested to know that one member who received the card sent it in with the comment:

"Of course I am in favor of the resolution; but I regard as among the most precious rights and privileges secured to us by constitution and law, to be preserved if necessary by all the forces of government, liberty of speech, liberty of the press, and liberty to petition or agitate for reform of grievances real or fancied. What is the use of poppycock in these serious times?"

New York, January 19 A. H.

Literature

What the Treaty Really Means

The Economic Consequences of the Peace. By J. M. Keynes. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

THIS is a very great book. If any answer can be made to the overwhelming indictment of the treaty that it contains, that answer has yet to be published. Mr. Keynes writes with a fullness of knowledge, an incisiveness of judgment, and a penetration into the ultimate causes of economic events that perhaps only half-a-dozen living economists might hope to rival. Nor is the manner of his book less remarkable than its substance. The style is like finely hammered steel. It is full of unforgettable phrases and of vivid portraits etched in the biting acid of a passionate moral indignation. Mr. Keynes has been singularly happy in his method. He gives us a brilliantly skilful picture of European economic structure before the war—a picture of which the principles are so simply fashioned as almost to conceal their grimly ironic implications. That necessary prelude is followed by an analysis of the conference itself of which it is perhaps best to say forthrightly that no Englishman—one hopes, no American also—can read it without a sense of shame. It is the work of a great artist who is great because his art is at every point worthy of the noble purpose he has in view. He is alive to the tragic contrast between the vast issues that were to be met and the tangled passions which blocked the road to their solution. He has grasped the cynical immobility of a mind like M. Clemenceau's, to whom truth and justice are non-existent because he has outlived his dreams; he is alive to the snake-like swiftness of Mr. George, to whom a principle is an obstacle to be surmounted; he is no longer betrayed by that mask of high purpose beneath which Mr. Wilson concealed an unfathomed ignorance. The full materials for a complete picture are here.

In such a background Mr. Keynes has a simple thesis to maintain. The treaty imposes certain economic penalties upon Germany. What are the probable consequences of their enforcement? What are the chances that they are capable of being enforced? The substance of Mr. Keynes's argument is that they spell disaster to the whole of Europe and that they are made in cynical disregard of the actual facts in debate. But the atmosphere in which this thesis is maintained goes even deeper. The treaty, it is urged, is a wanton and dishonest evasion of the basis upon which Mr. Wilson, in the name of the Allies, gave Germany to understand that she had surrendered. The foundations upon which the economic penalties have been assessed are either untrue or utterly without regard to justice. These are hard words; yet they are inadequate to the realities they summarize. For Mr. Keynes is able by the incontrovertible logic of grim fact to show, for instance, that the method by which the indemnity was calculated bears neither relation to the supposed principles of the peace nor to the actual damages suffered by the Allies. Their estimate has been poisoned by the atmosphere in which they were assessed. The glib and disgraceful promises of Mr. Lloyd George to the British electorate, the financial cowardice and incompetence of M. Klotz, the almost childish naïveté of Mr. Wilson—these resulted in a final bill which Germany can pay only by securing a market the extent of which would involve the shrinkage of Allied trade on a scale of ruinous extent. The indemnity, in fact, is simply a trick by which the European Allies, for some months at least, are attempting to delude an angry populace from discovering the ruin that confronts them.

The indemnity, both in its indeterminateness and in the manner in which it is to be collected, is a blunder hardly less ignorant than criminal. But the economic penalties make it by comparison trivial. Mr. Keynes is able very effectively to show that Germany is deprived by the treaty of raw materials, and particularly of coal and iron, which were vital to her economic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

life. He argues, with plain common sense on his side, that without the recovery of her economic life she cannot even hope to begin redress of the wrong she has caused; and thus that the Allies, in their determination to prevent the renewal of her former riches, make impossible the recovery of a third of the population of Europe from its present poverty. Never before in history has there been so carefully prepared and so ruthlessly intended a diminution of a nation's standard of life. Germany is left without adequate coal, without adequate iron, without adequate transportation, for her industrial needs. Her merchant fleet is gone. Her waterways of major importance pass under alien control. Her interests in foreign countries and in colonial possessions are confiscated without compensation. Not only are the prospects of renewed productivity thus sensibly diminished; even were a surplus thinkable it passes to the Allies in satisfaction of the indemnity. In the result not only is Germany deprived of the very foundations of material substance, but for an unlimited period she is deprived of the incentive to that kind of effort by which alone, so Mr. Hoover has declared, the revival of Europe may be attained.

What, then, is the situation that the treaty calls into being? It is a tragic picture that Mr. Keynes here paints; yet it is at every point borne out by the facts that have been given us by observers whose testimony is unbiased. Mr. Keynes reminds us of the delicate economic mechanism by which the civilization of Europe has been maintained. There was little or no margin of luxurious subsistence. The unbroken continuity of organization was the indispensable condition of European subsistence. That continuity has been broken. The finances of France and Italy are in chaos. The productivity of Europe has been immensely lowered. The currency has been debased to a point where former standards of value are largely without meaning. The psychological incentives to production upon which the past depended have been subject to such strain as to be incapable of analysis in the ancient terms. The standard of life has been so reduced that in Austria, Poland, Russia, men are already starving. From an enfeebled population deprived of hope and strength the rebuilding of civilization cannot be expected. These are not the gloomy prophecies of German politicians. They are the sober conclusions of physiologists, of economists, of officers of the armies. What, for example, is to happen to the fifteen million Germans who, before the war, depended upon foreign trade, navigation, and foreign raw material for their subsistence? The foreign trade is destroyed at the root by the loss of coal and iron. The taking of ships makes navigation the dream of some future too distant for present conception. There is nothing to exchange for the raw material upon which they depended. Emigration is cut off by the barriers of national hate on the one hand and the absence of adequate transportation upon the other. These fifteen million people are condemned to death. Yet, as Mr. Keynes notes in ominous words, "men will not always die quietly." If the alternative is, as the facts of this treaty seem to make it, an alternative between death and revolution, there are in every country despairing but bold spirits who will risk the fate of civilization itself in a last desperate effort to satisfy the impulse to live.

The treaty, in fact, cannot stand; and there is nothing more courageous in Mr. Keynes's book than the analysis which he makes of the revisions necessary to it. Its opening premise is notable; and it needs the more emphasis in a country like America where doubt of the political fabric has become equated with original sin. "The replacement of the existing Governments of Europe," writes Mr. Keynes, "is an almost indispensable preliminary." Otherwise we are tied down by the grim evasiveness of Paris, its devious dishonesties, its lack of faith in men, its cruelty, its passions. What we need is the vision of men like General Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil, the administrative insight of Mr. Hoover, the collective enthusiasm of British labor. Only in a new spirit can we achieve the change the facts demand. So far, we have been bidden to trust to the League of Nations for that promise. But Mr. Keynes rightly warns us how difficult will be the management of that polyglot mechanism with its fatal emphasis upon unanimity. The new governments, as he argues, may act differently.

Meanwhile, there are certain obvious needs. The indemnity must, as a whole, be fixed at ten billions, and the ships and economic materials ceded must count as part of that debt. The Reparation Commission—an international Star-Chamber—if not dissolved must be subject to the League of Nations and deprived of power to interfere, as today it can wantonly interfere, with the economic details of Germany's internal life; nor should the new and hapless Austria be subject to reparations. The coal clauses must be abrogated, save in so far as Germany should make good the temporary deficiency due to the destruction of French mines. After ten years, the Saar agreement—without question the worst blot upon the treaty—should be abrogated also, France meanwhile arranging for the due supply to Germany of Lorraine iron. A European free-trade union should be established which will at once repair some measure of our loss in organization and diminish the economic nationalism of the new states called into being. As to finances, Mr. Keynes urges, in an argument at least as able as any in his book, the cancellation at once of inter-Ally indebtedness and an international loan. Unless the first is done, the result, when Germany's inability is remembered, will be the destruction of France and Italy and the growth of that inevitable ill-will between debtor and creditor nation which is the parent of international trouble. The international loan would allow that purchase of credit without which the adequate rebuilding of Europe is unthinkable.

Such a bare summary does, of necessity, far less than justice to the cogent facts by which Mr. Keynes lends validity to his proposals. He does not deny that they involve sacrifice on the part both of Great Britain and the United States. Nor does he conceal from himself that America is tired of Europe and that it will be difficult to persuade her, in her present disillusion, to embark upon a new adventure. Yet he is surely right in ultimately building high hopes upon American faith in the great destiny of civilization. It is unthinkable that America will leave Europe to perish because, at the crisis of her fortunes, Mr. Wilson lacked the knowledge or the courage to stand four-square upon the principles of justice. After all, the treaty that has emerged is in part, at least, of America's making; and it would be the worst act of cowardice known to history if she allowed her selfish comfort to rank before the security of European civilization.

It is doubtless inevitable that a plea so thoroughgoing as that which Mr. Keynes has to make will meet with impatient criticism. Ignorant men, to whom the principle of *væ victis* is the sole method of making peace, will be angry at his picture of the part played by Germany in the fabric of social life. Politicians who sought to satiate with empty promises the lust of hate they had unloosed will shrink from this plain comparison between their pledges and the facts. Diplomats to whom the life of nations is the mere substance of a complex game will turn with impatience from one who spells out its principles in terms so plain. Above all, simple-minded men, who had taken on faith the watchwords by which this war was fought, will see with horror the meaning of those watchwords in the naked event and seek in new illusion the nourishment of their empty hopes. Yet neither doubt nor faith, neither anger nor imprecation, can meet the facts of Europe in this hour. The old world is in flames; and fire is extinguished in the affairs of peoples only by wisdom based on hope and mercy based on knowledge. It was for a dream that we entered this war, and we have sacrificed the youth of half the world to its attainment. The vision now is dim and shrunken and distorted, yet it is by the vision we shall be judged. Surely in such an hour the only creed we may hold is one of justice and charity. Not even the grim tragedy of immeasurable sacrifice should make us slaves to our passion when we might be the confident masters of our ideal.

HAROLD J. LASKI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Philosophy of Conflict

The Philosophy of Conflict and other Essays in War-Time. Second Series. By Havelock Ellis. Houghton Mifflin Company.

THE philosophy of our age is science; its typical literary form journalism. Let anyone compare the essay, for example, as it was in the sixteenth century and as it has been within our memory. Montaigne and Bacon talk philosophy; in their minds they have Plato and Pliny; their subjects are the human emotions and human destiny, love and friendship, and the vicissitudes of things. But Huxley and Fabre talk of pieces of chalk and of green grasshoppers; their thought is molded by the laboratory; and their style, when they appeal to the public, by the leading article in the newspaper.

Among the essayists of the popular-science variety, Havelock Ellis will take a high, though not the highest, place. With quite enough expert knowledge to give his opinions weight, at least in some subjects, with a wide acquaintance among the best recent books, with curiosity and insight, he discourses on a wide range of subjects of permanent interest. His style, unpretentious and clear, capable now and then of a poetic flight, is neither distorted by epigram nor burdened with useless ornament.

As the title indicates, the subject of a number of essays in this book is war—not war in particular, or as the politician sees it, not the strife of England and Germany, or the strategy of armies and navies, but conflict in its largest aspect, its nature and causes, and its effects on the race as a whole. The author's thesis is that war is a social phenomenon, a disease of the state, unknown to most animals or to primitive men, but originating with the formation of definite civil groups. There is war, he asserts, between the highly socialized colonies of ants and bees, and there is war between human states. He compares it to cannibalism—another unnatural habit early acquired by man but soon outgrown.

But, though war is a malady of the state, the cure for it will not be found, in the author's opinion, in the erection of a world society to control or supersede the present nations; there have been civil wars, and they have often been the bitterest of all. Rather Mr. Ellis finds the causes of war in the crowding of population and in excessive industrialism. Both causes, he thinks, are destined to disappear, for the birth-rate is decreasing and, economically, "there is no more of the world left to fight for." But is this true? Is not the pressure of population as great as ever in Russia and in Asia, and are there not plenty of natural resources to exploit?

One point that the author drives home is that, however much wars are said to be fought for ideas, their results seldom influence the march of civilization in this regard. The ideals of the conquerors have triumphed rather in spite of victory than because of it; the thought of the vanquished is often the seed of future progress. Nor does the conqueror benefit, usually, by his material gains. Rather the lesson of war has been, says Mr. Ellis, *væ victoribus!*

The largest subjects have no terrors for our author. The gentleman in Molière's comedy who reduced Roman history to the compass of a rondeau, would be pleased to meet the scholar who disposes of the history of civilization in a couple of editorials. The first, a rhapsody over Europe, is intended to show why that "finely fashioned continent" should be the seat of the highest civilization; the second is a protest against those who, having cut their fingers on the world's culture, would petulantly throw away such a dangerous tool.

A number of essays are character-studies. The poetry of Cowley, the "splendid imagery of Joseph Conrad that makes that of all other writers of the sea seem extravagant or clumsy," the pathetic, semi-comic fidelity of Baudelaire to his ugly mistress, the pranks of Casanova and a merry widow, are set forth with gusto and charm. The most sympathetic essay is that on the South American poet Rodó; the most successful that on Herbert Spencer with his "provincial imperialism of the spirit"; the most ambitious is that on Luther. It is in the last that the author's strength and weakness are most apparent. He is sufficiently fresh to his subject to find traits of character that most other writers have overlooked, and it is equally true that he overlooks obvious features that most other students have seen. In the great German he finds "an adept in the culture of his land and day, eagerly devoted to literature, a poet, a good musician, accomplished in the mechanical uses of his hands, the intimate friend of Cranach, a skilful dialectician," but he also brands him as coarse, spiteful, and brutish. But when he comes to ask what was the work that Luther did, he is at a loss. The scholar who finds the laws governing the rise and decline of civilizations easy to master, gapes helplessly when confronted with the causes and results of the Reformation.

It is when Havelock Ellis speaks on his own specialty—sex in its scientific aspects—that he is best worth attending to. The studies here presented of feminism, of eugenics, of birth-control, of monogamy, of the unmarried mother, of the economic relations of the sexes, of psycho-analysis, are little masterpieces. What is there, he asks, in the feminine mind that causes it to be so unproductive of genius? His estimate that only about five per cent. of British geniuses have been women compares with that of Professor Cattell, that only about three per cent. of the world's leaders have been women. He partly adopts the theory of the greater variability of men, as shown by the fact that their sex produces a larger proportion of idiots and of the color-blind. He has made determined efforts to compare the work of average men and women in the same field, but has found it excessively difficult, as even when the two sexes were doing nominally the same task there were differences in conditions enough to vitiate the statistical average. The opinions of men who had employed both men and women varied; a few asserted that women did better work than men, a few that they did equal work, most that they did from one-half to two-thirds as much as a man. Over against this is the known fact that girls usually outrank boys in school and college. The final result that Mr. Ellis comes to is that girls are more precocious than boys, but that the mind of the average adult woman is not equal to that of the average adult man, even as her body is weaker.

PRESERVED SMITH

A Trans-Mississippi Diogenes

Ventures in Common Sense. By E. W. Howe. Edited with an introduction by H. L. Mencken. Alfred A. Knopf.

AMONG those persons today who have to read most of whatever is written, few things are better known than that Mr. Mencken believes American society to be rotten with Puritanism and kindred mendacities. The honest men of this republic, he intimates each time he seizes the pen, can be counted on one hand, himself being the index finger and the thumb. He can forgive Mr. Howe's Puritanism (for Mr. Howe is blind, he regrets to say, to the æsthetic sides of drunkenness, prostitution, and other romantic necessities of modern life) only in view of his exceptional honesty. That Mr. Howe is honest one sees on every page of the present volume, which threatens to become a kind of classic. Were it saying very much for Mr. Howe, one might indeed point out that he appears more honest than Mr. Mencken, since he sincerely doubts his own sincerity. He seems sincere enough, however, for what he claims is the only purpose of literature, entertainment. Hating poets as all good poets do, and hating preachers as all good preachers do, he probably will not resent an opinion that he is one of the better preachers. Insist as he may that moralizing is futile, he cannot be offended if his maxims are found diverting. They are diverting, like everything that he has written, from "The Story of a Country Town," that rare, neglected novel of the eighties, through the files of the Atchinson *Globe*, his newspaper

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for a quarter of a century, to *E. W. Howe's Monthly*, whence the present aphorisms are extracted.

Mr. Howe is of the blood and bone of Kansas. His is the tribal toryism of the veteran provincial leader. His is the philosophy of the seasoned neighborhood, the school of the oldest inhabitant. He believes in experience—Kansas experience. He believes in business—Kansas business. He knows that the poor get all they deserve—in Kansas. He knows that honesty pays—in Kansas. He is sunk less deep in frontier cynicism than the Montana politician who defined an honest man as a man who would stay bribed; but he is cynical to the extent that he refuses to consider that man honest who is honest from anything except policy. He trusts only business men, and prefers them heavily bonded.

Thousands of men in America, successful in affairs or about to be successful, would be delighted with this book. Citizens with grievances are warned away. There is room for only a few quotations:

In everything in which man is interested, the world knows what is best for him. . . . Millions of men have lived millions of years, and tried everything.

Poets are prophets whose prophesying never comes true.

Financial sense is knowing that many men will promise to do a certain thing, and fail to do it.

There are no mysteries. Where does the wind come from? It doesn't matter: we know the habits of wind after it arrives.

A loafer never works except when there is a fire; then he will carry out more furniture than anybody.

With women, men are the enemy; they abuse them as a nation abuses a people with whom it is at war, with old stories told in other wars.

As long as we do not blow our brains out, we have decided life is worth living.

We cannot permit love to run riot; we must build fences around it, as we do around pigs.

An Author's Author

While Paris Laughed.—Conrad in Quest of His Youth.—Cynthia.—The Actor-Manager.—The Position of Peggy Harper.—The Man Who Understood Women, and Other Stories.—The Worldlings. E. P. Dutton and Company.

LEONARD MERRICK has frequently been called an author's author. The only testimony needed to complete the charge is furnished by the recent edition of his works, assembled by his fellow-craftsmen and enriched by laudatory prefaces over the names of Howells, Barrie, Barker, Wells, Chesterton, *et al.* These gentlemen, even while they mete out eager praise, marvel or bemoan, as the case may be, Mr. Merrick's curiously precious popularity. Being an author's author, like being a man's man, is a peculiar and not always gratifying position. However, it argues the virtues of its defects, and in the first case, as in the second, implies a candor which is as fine as it is rare. Indeed, no less a person than Mr. Howells contends that it is just this candor which counts against his man with the general public.

The candor of unhappy endings is not to blame. Consider such authentic tales as "A Daughter of the Philistines," "The Position of Peggy Harper," or, of all unworldly flourishes, "The Worldlings." The daughter of the Philistines is saved by her ability to adapt herself to the jars and risks and miseries of an invading Bohemia. Peggy, common, silly little creature that she is, is yet lucky enough to rise to a position whose very eminence frees her quondam fiancé from a difficult union, to work out his own literary and romantic destiny. The protagonist of "The Worldlings" concludes his career by winning his wife over to a fantastic conception of life on love and poverty in a foreign dovecote.

It is his preoccupation with the life of literature and of the theatre which makes Mr. Merrick's work remarkable. And just as this subject is warranted to tempt his fellows, it is not unlikely to scare off those whose interest in "the profession" is temporary and external. There is a passage in at least one of his novels which hints that a drama dealing with the struggles of a young literary man leaves the public cold, and that the same story, involving a plumber or a barrister or a politician, will mightily engage them. Literature and the stage are Mr. Merrick's *pièces de résistance*, first and last; and what another man handles casually and incidentally, he adopts as his chosen and inexhaustible field. For others, less concerned with these things, the centre of interest lies more often in the impinging of one character upon another. One recalls how Henry James handled "The Tragic Muse," and what a fine mixture of personality and æsthetic passion drew him on to its *dénouement*. Without any odious drawing of comparisons, it may be noted that Mr. Merrick's care is all for the difficulties on which the elder artist so tenderly dwells. The very stuff with which he deals is the trouble and excitement a career creates for the authors and actresses who people his scene. Take the two typical cases of "The Actor-Manager" and "Cynthia." In each, we have a young man so tremendously engaged with the life of art that he is pathetically amateurish in the art of life. In the first, we have a devotee of the theatre: a man who wins success relatively early, and, thanks to the wealthy *flâneur*, his friend, achieves a theatre of his own. The sordid story of his failure to maintain it at its unique level, of his disappointment in his highest venture, is shown to be a deeper tragedy than any cut given him by his competent, mercenary wife. In "Cynthia," the young man is busy with literature. But the Muse does not wait on the butcher, the baker, and the baby. Here again, it is Kent's surrender to hack-work which seems to cheapen him more than any weakness of the flesh. In both books, Merrick studies his women, who are poles apart, with an intensity and a sensitiveness rarely matched. His analysis of the progress of Cynthia's love is only equalled by his pitiless probing of Blanche's unswerving egoism. The outstanding character of Merrick's heroes and heroines lies in their stubborn determination to maintain, in the face of disappointments and discouragements and utter failures, their solitary conflict.

This is the secret of Merrick's distinction. Here we have the beloved vagabond, the impecunious and ardent artist, whose history is rich in the humor that the choice of such a life affords the good bourgeois. Its quality is essentially Latin; its morality is the morality of Bohemia that disdains commercial success at the expense of art, that rejoices in a *vol-au-vent* at the expense of an unworthy Philistine, but lives on cheap bock and herring rather than play the affluent *épicier*.

In spite of Mr. Merrick's insistence on the realities of life, realities the more depressing because they are drab rather than stern, he is an incurable romancer. He deals with the struggles of the sincere artist, with the ordinary and disgusting details of what such will-o'-the-wisp success involves. But he invests the chase with an unquenchable glamour. At its worst, his implicit declaration is that it is worth while. His utmost disillusion cannot convince the reader that there is not something in it beyond the mean torments and pitiful triumphs that he shows.

Of "Conrad in Quest of His Youth" Barrie says "If, like the shipwrecked lady in a horrible tale, I were given a moment to decide which of my children I should save, I would, on the whole, keep grip of Conrad and the short stories and let the other babies go." In this eminently romantic and absolutely convincing "sentimental journey," we have Merrick at his most characteristic, and therefore most engaging, moment. His people are terribly real; his situations have an interest sharpened by their inevitability. The inwardness of the matter is that Leonard Merrick is himself a man in love with his art, and with life that conditions art, so that he presents it at once faithfully and with all the elements of its charm.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drama

The Power of Darkness

THIS play of Tolstoi carries us back to the very origins of the modern theatre. It was the first great serious drama of humble life. It took a Russian moujik and made him a tragic hero akin to the great protagonists of old—guilty but not ignoble, caught in snare after snare, doomed by the infirmity of his will and yet burned clean on the threshold of an eternal world. "The Power of Darkness" was translated early into the languages of Western Europe; it was performed on the celebrated experimental stages of the later eighties; it was in the hands of the men who were to create the modern drama. At last the Theatre Guild has given us an opportunity to see it here.

Two moral worlds meet in the play and the older merges into the newer. First there is the moral world symbolized by the peasant proverb which is the sub-title of the play: "If the claw is caught the bird is lost." The words hold an image of wildness and of pain. They smell of the earth and of moist forests. But their burden is one with that of the anæmic old hymn: "Yield not to temptation." The saintly old Akim has no farther vision. Straight is the gate and narrow the way! So the tragic rhythm of the play might have been simple and direct and hard throughout. But Tolstoi saw the life of his peasants not only steadily. To do that is often to stiffen into a stare and create a phantasm. He saw it whole. Thus in the fourth act the hard rhythm breaks with Nikita's cry of accusation against Anisya: "She's made me her partner in these horrors. . . . I can't bear the sight of her. . . ." Moral revulsion first drove him from his wife to Akoulina, and his wife's deed had arisen in his mother's mind. But the burden of guilt is not shifted wholly upon the shoulders of the women. Neither the cold, murderous trickery of Matryona nor the hot blundering into crime of Anisya are to crush them quite or to drive them beyond the sympathy of men. The fatalistic, bitter-hearted old Mitritch, stretched out on the oven, mumbles and growls his simple and fundamental wisdom: "How should the likes of you not go to the bad? Who teaches you? What do you see? What do you hear? . . . A peasant woman, what is she? Just mud! . . . Just as the cattle that have no herdsmen are the most mischievous, so with you women." In this precise passage of this particular play one can mark more clearly perhaps than anywhere else the melting of the old conception of tragedy into the new. For suddenly, when these words have been spoken, we are in another moral world. The power of darkness is, in truth, inexorable. But the ultimate darkness is not the darkness of deliberate sin; it is the darkness of oppression and of ignorance. The bird's claw is caught because the bird is blind. The last battle must be against the forces that rob it of sight.

Mr. Emanuel Reicher's production of the play is of inestimable value to the art of our theatre. It is a corrective and a model. From it a right method and procedure can be derived. A theatrical production should have but one final aim—to recreate objectively the drama first played in the theatre of the author's mind. In order to do so it must, by the setting, sustaining, or variation of tone and rhythm, project that union of spiritual drift and concrete action which is the spirit of the drama's life; it must detach the characters from the flatness of even the most vivid page and show them not only in relief but in free action through their world; it must drench that world with the physical and moral atmosphere in which alone the actions and passions of these people grew into what they are. The execution of this threefold task must be perverted or obscured by no redundant detail, no extraneous beauty, no emphasis on the personality or talent of actor, scenic artist, or director. Nothing must be put into the play. Everything that appears must have been drawn from it. A structurally imperfect play, such as "The Power of Darkness" is through the dramaturgically negligible second act, may be cut. Here to abbreviate was to enforce the dramatist's strength. But to add so much as a gesture not inherent in the text is in so far to abandon the drama and sink to vaudeville. What filled Mr. Reicher's mind and imagination was the play, not as a vehicle for himself and his associates, not as something that they could beautifully do, but as something beautiful to be done.

In the light of this intention he exacted and obtained the utmost from his actors. Miss Ida Rauh's nervous haste of enunciation was the only visible imperfection left. But consider Mr. Arthur Hohl as Nikita. Mr. Hohl is not a great actor and may never be one. He has, however, sunk all of himself into his part, and that reverent absorption touched one more deeply than the glamour of a more accomplished and more conscious personality would have done. Or consider, from the point of view of both training and devotion, the sharply defined yet flexible masks: the knifelike edges of Matryona's (Helen Westley's) evil smile, the blurred and stubborn loveliness of Akoulina (Marjorie Vonnegut), the haunted eagerness of Anisya (Ida Rauh), the broad smudge of Mitritch (Erskine Sanford) with its twinkling moments, the union of infinite grace and harsh virility that marked Akim (Frank Reicher). And restraint no less than absorption shaped the interaction of these characters on the stage. Mr. Frank Reicher is an actor of the highest gifts. He has a voice of astonishing resonance and charm. He played the part of the old peasant with the halting speech in a mood both visionary and commanding. Yet he dominated nowhere except during that one inevitable moment of the third act in which he breaks the spell of evil that binds the soul of his son.

On the scenic side the production has light, freedom, amplitude. It is neither affectedly bare nor smothered with mere things. No curious electrical effects seek to conceal a poverty of mood on the stage, no obviously painted backdrop cuts off some vista which a suggestion would reveal. Mr. Lee Simonson's decorative work is both precise and poetic. Brown leaves on a single bough beating against the window mark the autumnal weather of the opening act. In the third act it is spring and the same bough is faintly seen in bloom. The effect is magical.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Art

With Official Sanction

IT is hard to account for the Exhibition of Modern French Art now at the Metropolitan Museum. M. Léonce Bénédite, representing the French Government, must have realized that it is not what it ought to be and might easily have been. Why, then, did he send us the collection? Did he think it all America deserved in return for the very poor showing America has just made at the Luxembourg? Or did he fancy Americans so ignorant that anything was good enough for them? If M. Bénédite did not know officially, he should have informed himself unofficially. Many people in France could have told him that some of the finest examples of modern French art are in this country, that not a few belong to the Metropolitan's permanent collection, that a far more representative show was sent, even during the war, from France to San Francisco and, afterwards, on tour to the more important towns and galleries.

The one thing certain is that, whatever the cause, the exhibition is a disappointment. There are well-known names among the exhibitors, but the work on the walls does not explain why they should ever have become known. There are names now heard for the first time, but nothing to make it clear why they should be heard at all. One remembers painters like Cottet and Simon at the Salon and one asks in dismay if the scourings of their studios could have produced nothing more masterly than the quite insignificant canvases chosen. One remembers the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

triumph of Besnard in his great portraits, and one asks if it was really he who could see only this feeble, colorless, characterless old man in Cardinal Mercier, who has been too recently in this country for us to forget the dignity of his presence, the noble beauty of his head, the splendor of his robes. And Denis, Chéret, Signac, Bonnard, what reputation would have been theirs had it depended on the travesties of themselves sent to represent them? And Monet, what can he think of this dragging again into the light of a canvas like La Japonaise, by no means characteristic of his art at any stage and clearly inspired by Whistler's Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine? But what a difference in the two paintings! No figure is inside Monet's elaborately painted gown, and no texture, no delicacy, or loveliness of color in the gown itself. And look at the disordered scattering of the fans on the wall, without arrangement, or rhythm of line, or balance of design. And then recall the exquisite painting in the gown of Whistler's Princesse, the subtle suggestion of the form within the draperies, the restraint in the order of the fans and screen. The Princesse was exhibited in Paris ten years before the date on Monet's canvas. In an exhibition of Monet's work La Japonaise might have its place, but not in an exhibition of modern French art.

Altogether, with the best will in the world, it is possible to discover scarcely more than half a dozen canvases of real note. Ménard's solemn, impressive landscape, with its luminous sky and majestic clouds, is the best thing in the collection, though merely a sketch, no doubt, for one of his larger panels. A little landscape by Henri Martin, typically French, is full of light and charm, but not typical of the painter's large, sun-drenched mural decorations. The small Le Sidaner also has charm—the charm of his low-toned peaceful harmonies. Caro-Delvaille's nude is a good, soundly modelled study, but little more. There is fine color in the sea by Auguste Matisse—a different painter from Henri. But even Auguste belongs sufficiently to later schools to seem to think that life is expressed by an effect of arrested motion: his wave has stopped suddenly, just as it was about to break. It remains forever an essential part of a well thought-out arrangement of line and color. The Renoirs show—more especially the nude—the academic foundation, the technical knowledge, and good drawing upon which Renoir's mature methods were built up. And these complete the list of paintings of genuine distinction. The drawings and prints are little better. Rivière and Bernard Boutet de Monvel are amusing in line and technique, but how did M. Bénédite countenance such depressingly commonplace Forains, Steinlens, Lepères, Louis Legrands? Where were they found? The sculpture has been selected with no less indifference. A head of a Poilu by Moreau-Vauthier and a Bacchante by Bourdelle are the principal exceptions, and they both, in a fine collection, would probably disappear. It was not even thought worth while to provide a catalogue, the reason perhaps because M. Bénédite would prefer not to leave a record of so superfluous a failure. The chief merit is due entirely to the Metropolitan. The collection is well hung. In the room with the prints and drawings are paintings which break agreeably the monotony, and the quiet silver-grey of the walls makes an admirable background.

Fortunately, the visitor to the Metropolitan does not depend on M. Bénédite for his impression of modern French art. From the exhibition he will do well to go and rinse his eyes, as the French say, in other galleries of the Museum where he will be reminded that art, even when modern, can be good. He should go, above all, to Gallery 21 where, among many memorable things, are fine characteristic Monets to prove La Japonaise a mere accident of youth, and the portrait of a mother and her two children to show the splendid achievement to which Renoir was led by his academic training and carrying on of tradition. It is because the knowledge, the respect, and the admiration for modern French art are great in this country that the mistake of sending so inadequate an exhibition with official sanction is deeply to be deplored.

N. N.

BRENTANO'S RECOMMEND

The following Leading Books of Vital Interest on Problems of Today

The Economic Consequences of the Peace

By John Maynard Keynes, Representative of the British Treasury at the Peace Conference.
Cloth, $2.50

This book reveals for the first time the actual workings of the Council of Four, and analyzes with vigor the economic clauses of the Treaty. No other book has with the same authority and the same force presented the consequences that are likely to follow the carrying out of the Treaty, or presented a more constructive solution of the great problems of peace. Not a dry contribution to economics, but the work of a master of English style. No man can speak with greater authority on this subject, for Mr. Keynes was attached to the British Treasury throughout the war, was its representative at the Peace Conference, and was a member of the Supreme Economic Council of the Allied and Associated Powers.

Across the Blockade

A Record of Travels in Enemy Europe. By Henry Noel Brailsford..... $1.50

The clearest and most illuminating work yet published in America about what has happened and what it has been like in Central Europe since the Armistice. It records impressions formed during four months spent in blockaded Europe between February and May, 1919. Parts of some of the chapters originally appeared in The New Republic, The Nation and the Manchester Guardian. It tells of the political, social and economic turn-overs which have puzzled the outside world, and gives a sense of the prevailing mental ill health; it explains and describes many things whose effect on world-wide affairs is profound.

W. B. Wilson

First Secretary of Labor in the United States and the Department of Labor, by Roger W. Babson.
Cloth, $2.00

This new book of Mr. Babson's gives a critical survey of the problems and processes of industrial management, collective bargaining, arbitration, and conciliation as now existing, and all this against the background of the romance of a little boy who is taken from school at the age of eight and sent to the mines and who later, after working as common laborer, iron miner, locomotive fireman, lumber-jack, log driver, farmer, and union organizer, is called upon to head one of the most important Departments of the Government.

Showing—(1) The future of labor unionism and conciliation in industry.
(2) The machinery, policy, and organization of the Department of Labor.
(3) The secret of Secretary Wilson's success in mediating between labor and employers.

Millions From Waste

By Frederick A. Talbot.....Cloth, $5.00

Mr. Talbot does not confine himself to a mere recital of the so-called waste products. He describes how their recovery and exploitations may be profitably conducted, so that the present volume is of decided practical value. He treats of the fertility of thought displayed by the inventor, chemist, and engineer in the evolution of simple ways and means to turn despised materials into indispensable articles of commerce.

Postage Additional

BOOKSELLERS TO THE WORLD

BRENTANO'S

Retail Book Department

Fifth Avenue and 27th Street

New York City

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books of the Week

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Bradley, Henry. Spoken and Written Language. Oxford University Press.—Bridges, Robert. On English Homophones. Oxford University Press.—Goldberg, Isaac. Studies in Spanish-American Literature. Brentano's. $2.50.—Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Volume 30. Harvard University Press.—Holmes, C. J. Leonardo da Vinci. Oxford University Press.—Mencken, H. L. A Book of Burlesques. Knopf.—Proceedings of the British Academy, 1913-1914, 1915-1916. Oxford University Press.—Veblen, Thorstein. The Place of Science in Modern Civilisation. Huebsch. $3.—Whitehouse, J. Howard (Editor). John Ruskin: Letters, 1919. Oxford University Press.—Whitehouse, J. Howard (Editor). Ruskin Centenary Addresses, 1919. Oxford University Press.—Whitman, Charles Huntington. A Subject-Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser. Yale University Press.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Anonymous: Words in Pain. London: Gerald Michael Bishop.—Bradley, Henry. Sir James Murray, 1837-1915. Proceedings of the British Academy. Oxford University Press.—Brown, George E. A Book of R. L. S. Scribner's. $2.50.—Butcher, Lady. Memories of George Meredith. Scribner's. $1.60—Cody, Louisa Frederici. Memories of Buffalo Bill. Appleton. $2.50.—Jones, H. S. V. Spenser's Defense of Lord Grey. University of Illinois.—Karsner, David. Horace Traubel: His Life and Work. Egmont Arens.—Long, Francis Taylor. The Negroes of Clarke County, Georgia, During the Great War. University of Georgia.—Morse, Anson Daniel. Civilization and the World War. Ginn.—Pond, Fred E. Life and Adventures of "Ned Buntline." Cadmus Book Shop. $5.—Theodore Roosevelt. An Autobiography. Scribner's. $5.—Trevelyan, G. M. Englishmen and Italians: Some Aspects of their Relations Past and Present. Oxford University Press.—Usher, Abbott Payson. An Introduction to the Industrial History of England. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Capek, Thomas. The Cechs (Bohemians) in America. Houghton Mifflin. $3.—Leacock, Stephen. The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice. Lane. $1.25.—Mayer, Eli. Americanization. Albany: Sophereem Co. 50 cents.—Robinson, Victor. Pioneers of Birth Control. Voluntary Parenthood League.

LABOR, INDUSTRY, AND TRADE

Babson, Roger W. W. B. Wilson and the Department of Labor. Brentano's. $2.—Bloomfield, Daniel (editor). Modern Industrial Movements. H. W. Wilson Co. $1.80.

RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Batten, Samuel Zane. The New World Order. American Baptist Publication Society.—Fisher, Irving. Stabilizing the Dollar. Macmillan. $3.50.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Barr, Amelia E. Songs in the Common Chord. Appleton.—Black, John. Collected Poems. Knickerbocker Press.—Eliot, Samuel A., Jr. (Editor). Little Theater Classics, Vol. 2. Little, Brown. $1.50.—Guild, Thacher Howland. The Power of a God. University of Illinois Press. $1.25.—MacClintock, Lander. The Contemporary Drama of Italy. Little, Brown. $1.50.—Mackaye, Percy. Rip Van Winkle. Knopf.—McManus, Joseph D. The Might of Manhattan. Charles Francis Press.—Roberts, Cecil. Poems. Stokes. $1.50.—Sayler, Olive M. The Russian Theatre Under the Revolution. Little, Brown. $2.50.—Simpson, Percy (Editor). Ben Jonson's Every Man in His Humour. Oxford University Press.

FICTION

Baxter, Arthur Beverley. The Blower of Bubbles. Appleton. $1.75.—Copplestone, Bennet. The Last of the Grenvilles. Dutton. $2.50.—Dillon, Mary. The Farmer of Roaring Run. Century. $1.75.—Dostoevsky, Fydor. An Honest Thief. Macmillan. $2.—Greenberg, David S. The Cockpit of Santiago Key. Boni & Liveright. $1.50.—Holdsworth, Ethel. The Taming of Nan. Dutton. $1.90.—Latzko, Andreas. The Judgment of Peace. Boni & Liveright. $1.75.—Locke, William J. The House of Baltazar. Lane.—Oldmeadow, Ernest. Goggin. Century.—Oppenheim, E. Phillips. The Great Impersonation. Little, Brown. $1.75.—Schuster, O. J. The Treasures of Mayville. Spring Grove, Va.: Little Publishing Co. $1.50.—Spadoni, Adriana. The Swing of the Pendulum. Boni & Liveright. $1.90.—White, William Patterson. Lynch Lawyers. Little, Brown. $1.75.

THE WAR

Keith, Eric A. My Escape from Germany. Century.—Whitehouse, Vira B. A Year as a Government Agent. Harper's. $2.75.—Yeats-Brown, Francis. Caught by the Turks. Macmillan. $2.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Cave, Sydney. Redemption: Hindu and Christian. (The Religious Quest of India). Oxford University Press.—Cooke, George Willis. The Social Evolution of Religion. Stratford. $3.50.—Goddard, Dwight. Living Waters or Messages of Joy. Brentano's.—Henson, H. Hensley. F. T. Woods, Canon A. C. Headlam, Canon E. W. Watson, and Canon H. L. Goudge. The Church of England. Macmillan.—Shaw, Charles Gray. The Ground and Goal of Human Life. New York University Press.

SCIENCE

Bailey, L. H. The Nursery Manual. Macmillan. $2.50.—Very, Frank W. The Radiant Properties of the Earth from the Standpoint of Atmospheric Thermodynamics. Four Seas.

NATURE AND OUTDOOR LIFE

Teall, Gardner. A Little Garden the Year Round. Dutton. $2.50.—Webb, William. Garden First in Land Development. Longmans, Green.

Whatever book you want

Brentano's

has it, or will get it.

We buy old, rare books, and sets of books

NEW YORK and PHILADELPHIA

ALL your books can be ordered through the Readers' Service Department of The Nation at the same prices charged by the publishers; and subscriptions for all magazines can be placed at the same rates charged by any authorized agent.

You are serving The Nation in allowing The Nation to serve you.

Address all communications to the Readers' Service Department

The Nation

20 Vesey Street, New York

In ordering books, add 5% for postage east of Chicago; 8% west.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

Contents

POLITICS IN JUGOSLAVIA. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong..... 181
DOCUMENTS: Alternatives in the Adriatic—A Pacifist Premier—An Appeal of the Ukrainian Coöperatives—An Order of General Petlura—Women in Soviet Russia—For the Defense of the Revolution—An Irish Labor Program 182

Politics in Jugoslavia

By HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG

THE political parties of Jugoslavia have developed so far along national lines that it cannot longer be doubted that the new state is really becoming a political entity, whatever may be the exact frontiers drawn for it by the hesitant Powers, whatever the discontent of the commercial Croat or the temperamental Slovene over the slow-going habits of their new lawmakers at Belgrade. The ultimate success of the Jugoslav experiment must to a large degree depend upon whether or not Jugoslavia is to be cut off from the Adriatic; but internal problems cannot wait indefinitely on external, however momentous, and today there are being evolved two strong parties which make their appeal to all sections of the united Serb-Croat-Slovene people. At least one of these two parties seems to have succeeded in rising above the racial, religious, and geographical differences which naturally are the country's weakness, and certainly the rivalries between them need not be taken by the outside world as indicating irreparable internal dissension or a breaking up of the new state. They are national parties with national programs, and both stand squarely for centralized government under the Kara-Georgevitch dynasty.

The new Jugoslav Democratic party was formed in February, 1919, largely through the energy of M. Svetozar Pribichevitch, Minister of the Interior in the Coalition Government, a young and ardent politician, and head of an influential Croatian family. He was one of the principals in the famous Agram treason trial of 1909, and immediately thereafter put all his efforts into the Croat-Serb Coalition to work for the union of Serbia and Croatia. The Democratic *bloc* has gained the adherence of the smaller Serbian groups which used to form the Opposition in the old Serbian Assembly, as well as of the Serbian Socialists and the so-called Liberals, thereby avoiding the danger of creating a counter-Serbian party. Voting with them also are the Dalmatian and probably the Montenegrin deputies, as well as several from Istria and the Voivodina. The indications are that when the proposed constitutional elections take place a predominantly Democratic Assembly will be returned, but this will not be for some time, as the election law is still uncompleted.

Competing with the Democrats for control are the Old Radicals, a designation which today is most inept. They form the party of M. Pashitch and his lieutenant, M. Stoyan Protitch, both political veterans, both Serbs, but nevertheless making unexpectedly successful efforts to identify themselves with groups representing other districts of the country. One result of the return of Pashitch from Paris will probably be to diminish the prestige of his Democratic rivals, for in spite of his age he remains a powerful figure in politics. He is personally influential in Macedonia, as well as among the Mohammedans of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and may also appeal successfully to the Serbs in the Banat and the other provinces across the Danube from Belgrade.

The Democratic party stands for a vast program of immediate social and economic changes, many of which the Old Radicals are willing to accept, but which they desire to work out slowly and cautiously. In answer to this opposition the Democrats accuse the Old Radicals of being narrow and holding a too exclusively Serbian outlook, and of dickering with the big Croatian and Bosnian landowners on the all-important subject of agrarian reform. The Democrats favor drastic agrarian measures, and point to the danger of separatist movements if they are not carried out. Although inclining slightly toward the Democratic program, the Prince Regent has succeeded in steering a middle course. It is suggestive that the part of his first speech from the throne which won the most applause proposed extending to the new provinces the Serbian land system, under which each citizen holds and owns his own bit of land, inalienably and forever.

Of course the Democrats have the weaknesses to be expected in a party composed of such varied elements, and it is true that the Cabinet formed under their control in August had a stormy time. But at the moment of writing they dominate the situation, and their vicissitudes only show that until the elections both main parties will have to be largely guided by the demands of the two most numerous independent groups, the Croatian Starchevists and the Slavonian Clericals. The Starchevists have held aloof from their compatriot, M. Pribichevitch, because they desire a Jugoslav union with a greater degree of local autonomy than do the Democrats. They even go so far as to favor provincial legislatures for local legislation, and therefore will not lend their support to the big-party programs of strong centralization. The momentary importance of the Starchevists is not proportionate to their number, for they control only twenty-nine votes in the Provisional Assembly. They formed the minority of the Croatian Diet before the war, and there is no reason to suppose that they have increased or that they will threaten the Democrats as the majority party in Croatia.

The Slavonian Clericals claim as their leader Father Koroshetz, a Roman Catholic priest, who, while he was Vice-President of the Jugoslav Council of Ministers, proved himself an intelligent and high-minded man. He has held aloof from Old Radicals and Democrats because of his desire for a Cabinet in which all parties would have a representation proportionate to the actual number of their constituents, instead of the present coalition Cabinet made up of members of the two or three principal parties. As the Socialists refuse to join a Cabinet in which father Koroshetz is given a seat, and as the Democrats are determined to prevent the defection of such strong allies as the Socialists, the Clericals are forced into independent action.

It is almost impossible to prophesy how far the Serbians, essentially Slavic and Eastern in habits and outlook, will be able to compose their differences with the Croats and Slovenes, who have been citizens of a thoroughly organized and efficient, if tyrannical, Empire. The Croats value the advantages they have gained through close contact with Western civilization, and they boast of the fact that they are far ahead of the Serbians commercially. But the po-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

litical persecution and economic exploitation to which they have always been subjected have left them with far less enthusiasm and idealism than the Serbians, who in addition have a prestige gained from having endured all the trials of four fearful years of war and of having at the end seen their hopes triumphant. Much is often made of the religious differences which separate the Orthodox Serbs from the Croatian and Slavonian Roman Catholics, but the facts seem to belittle this supposed discord, and although Father Koroshetz is not at the moment in the Cabinet he is a power in Jugoslav politics.

Serbia, and to a certain degree all of Jugoslavia, furnishes poor soil for the sowing of Bolshevist seed. That the Socialists will undoubtedly develop strength is shown by the pains taken by the Democratic party to conciliate them, but this in itself will tend to keep them moderate, and at present only an inconsiderable percentage are extremists. You cannot riot in Serbia without trampling down the parental potato-patch and breaking the windows of your brother's house. There is no aristocracy save that of education and attainment; witness the case of the Commander-in-Chief of the Serbian Army. The father was able to educate one of his sons, who became one of the great generals of Europe; the other stayed on his bit of land, content to live the life of a peasant.

Another influence against Bolshevism is the prosperity which is now in sight. Prosperity will be a new experience for Old Serbia and Bosnia, and although not new to the grain districts of the Banat and Batchka, even there it promises for the first time in history to reward the actual workers of the soil instead of Budapest landowners. After the armistice there was a tendency among the Croatian peasants, who perhaps have not the moral stamina of the hardier Serb, to slacken their efforts at production and to live on the increased profits brought in by the post-war demand for all foodstuffs and raw materials. It should be remembered that the oppression exercised by the late Austro-Hungarian Government was chiefly political, racial, and moral, and that even during the war efforts were made from Vienna and Budapest to keep the subject nationalities quiet by fostering their material comfort. This disintegrating policy was not in the end successful, but it did leave the most critical Jugoslav districts of the Dual Empire much better off from a material point of view than the districts distinctly Austrian or Magyar. Then came the inevitable financial crash which made negligible the paper wealth of these easy-going profiteers; their bulging wads of Austro-Hungarian Kronen, even when stamped by a hard-pressed Serbian Government, bought only small fractions of what they had formerly purchased; and the moral prostration which feeds unrest and social disorder was brought to a sharp end by a forced return to a fuller agricultural production.

In the whole of Serbia there are only two estates of over fifty acres—and both of these are under a hundred acres. With the spread of a land system such as this over all its new and under-developed territory, Jugoslavia stands ready, if the Powers will let it use its front door and the economic freedom it paid so dearly to win, to launch forth on a career of prosperity and development which will be of indescribable value in purifying the dismal and unhealthy Balkan morass.

This brief review would be incomplete without mention of the much-debated question of republicanism in Jugoslavia. In the first place it may be definitely admitted that there were certain politicians who thought they saw ahead of them a more glowing political career in a republican state than under the Serbian dynasty, democratic and liberal as it is. Their numbers have been exaggerated, and many of them have changed their views as the new state organization developed along broadly national lines. The real republican movement, such as it is, is in no sense anarchistic, and it will make its appeal to the voters by constitutional methods at the time of the elections to the permanent Assembly. Its strength will depend on the success met with by Prince Regent Alexander in fighting Jugoslavia's national battles before the high court of the Powers, and in making a rapid adjustment of conflicting internal interests. His chances of success are materially strengthened by the manner in which the larger political parties are developing, and by the tendency of those parties to stand for national policies rather than sectional prejudices.

Documents

Alternatives in the Adriatic

THE following text of the compromise plan for settlement of the Adriatic dispute, submitted by Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau to the representatives of the Jugoslavs, is taken from the New York *Times* of January 22.

I. Fiume is to be an independent city under the guarantee of the League of Nations with the right to choose its own diplomatic representatives. The city of Sussah will go to the Serb-Croat-Slovene state. All of the port and the railroads which have their terminal there and the facilities necessary for their development will go to the League of Nations. The League will make such arrangements as it may judge necessary for the interests of the Serb-Croat-Slovene state, Hungary, Transylvania, and the city itself.

II. The free state will disappear and the frontier will be traced between Italy and the Serb-Croat-Slovene state as follows:

(a) In a manner to assure a connection by road along the coast with Italian territory, but leaving in the territory of the Serb-Croat-Slovene state all the railroad which runs from Fiume along the coast and then northward into Adelsberg, where this railroad, on leaving Fiume, runs along the coast, the frontier line will pass between the connecting road and the railroad.

(b) In order to assure protection to Trieste there will be a modification of the Wilson line in the region of Seno Seccia.

(c) Otherwise the frontier will be traced along the line marked in blue on the attached map, leaving in the Serb-Croat-Slovene state districts purely Jugoslav.

III. Zara, within the limit of the municipal zone, will be an independent state under the guarantee of the League of Nations, with the right to choose its own diplomatic representatives.

IV. Italy will keep Valona, as is provided in the Treaty of London and will have a mandate in Albania. The frontiers of northern Albania will be rectified as indicated upon the adjoined map. The Albanian regions, which will thus come under the administration of the Serb-Croat-Slovene state, will exist as an autonomous province, with a special régime such as that which the treaty concluded with the Czecho-Slovak Republic provides for autonomous Ruthenia of Czecho-Slovakia. The meridonial frontier of Albania will be the line proposed by the French and British delegations to the Greek commission. It leaves Argyrocastra and Gorytza to Greece.

V. The following groups of islands will be ceded to Italy: Lussin and Pelagosa and Lissa. The rest of the islands will be under the sovereignty of the Serb-Croat-Slovene state.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VI. All the islands of the Adriatic will be de-militarized.

VII. That special provisions will be taken to permit the Italians of Dalmatia to vote for Italian nationality without leaving the territory.

VIII. Economic enterprises, existing in Dalmatia, shall have their security safeguarded by an international convention.

[The blue line, referred to in Article II, Section (c), corresponds roughly to President Wilson's Istrian line, bending slightly eastward at Seno Seccia and eastward near Fiume, bringing the Italian line to within twelve kilometres of Fiume. The roadway proposed along the coast will thus be eight miles long and about one kilometre wide. The Albanian line referred to, runs approximately along the Drin River, the territory to the north going under the administration of the Jugoslav state.]

In the event of a refusal by their Government of the plan of settlement printed above, the Jugoslav delegation at Paris was informed that the Adriatic terms of the Treaty of London would be put into effect. Those terms, as printed in the International Relations Section of *The Nation* for November 16, 1918, follow:

IV. By the future treaty of peace Italy shall receive: the Trentino; the whole of Southern Tyrol, as far as its natural and geographical frontier, the Brenner; the city of Trieste and its surroundings; the county of Gorizia and Gradisca; the whole of Istria as far as the Quarnero, including Volosca and the Istrian Islands, Cherso and Lussin, as also the lesser islands of Plavnik, Unia, Canidoli, Paluzzuola, S. Pietro Nerovio, Asinello, and Gruica, with their neighboring islets.

NOTE 1.—In carrying out what is said in Article IV the frontier line shall be drawn along the following points: from the summit of Umbrile northwards to the Stelvio, then along the watershed of the Rhætian Alps as far as the sources of the rivers Adige and Eisach, then across the Mounts Reschem and Brenner and the Etz and Ziller peaks. The frontier then turns southwards, touching Mount Toblach, in order to reach the present frontier of Carniola, which is near the Alps. Along this frontier the line will reach Mount Tarvis and will follow the watershed of the Julian Alps beyond the crests of Predil, Mangart, and Tricorno, and the passes of Podberdo, Podlansko, and Idria. From here the line will run in a southeast direction towards the Schneeberg, in such a way as not to include the basin of the Save and its tributaries in Italian territory. From the Schneeberg the frontier will descend towards the sea coast, including Castua, Matuglia, and Volosca as Italian districts.

V. In the same way Italy shall receive the province of Dalmatia in its present extent, including further to the north Lissarika and Trebinje, and to the south all places as far as a line starting from the sea close to Cape Planca and following the watershed eastward in such a way as to place in Italian hands all the valleys whose rivers enter the sea near Sebenico—namely, the Cikola, Krka, and Butišnjica, with their tributaries. To Italy also will belong all the islands north and west of the Dalmatian coast, beginning with Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Skerda, Maon, Pago, and Puntadura, and further north, and reaching to Meleda southwards, with the addition of the islands of S. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta, and all the surrounding islets and rocks, and hence Pelagosa also, but without the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buje, Solta, and Brazza.

The following shall be neutralized: (1) The whole coast from Cape Planca on the north to the southern point of the peninsula of Sabbioncello on the south, this peninsula being included in the neutral zone. (2) Part of the coast from a point 10 kilometres south of Ragusavecchia as far as the river Vojussa on the south, so as to include in the neutralized zone the whole gulf of Cattaro with its ports, Antivari, Dulcigno, S. Giovanni di Medua, and Durazzo; with the reservation that Montenegro's rights are not to be infringed, in so far as they are based on the declarations exchanged between the contracting parties in April and May, 1909. These rights being recognized solely for Montenegro's present possessions, they shall not be extended to such regions and ports as may in the future be assigned to Montenegro. Hence no part of the coast which today belongs to Montenegro shall be subject to neutralization in the future. But all legal restrictions regarding the port of Antivari—to which Montenegro herself gave her adhesion in 1909—remain in vigor. (3) All the islands not assigned to Italy.

NOTE 2.—The following districts on the Adriatic shall by the work of the Entente Powers be included in the territory of Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro: To the north of the Adriatic the whole coast beginning at the Gulf of Volosca, near the frontier of Italy, as far as the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the whole coast today belonging to Hungary; the whole coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume, and the small ports of Nevi and Carlopago, and in the same way the islands of Veglia, Pervicio, Gregorio, Kali, and Arbe; to the south of the Adriatic, where Serbia and Montenegro are interested, the whole coast from Cape Planka to the River Drin, with the very important ports of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno, and S. Giovanni di Medua, as also the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buja, Solta, Brazza, Cikljan, and Calamotta.

The port of Durazzo can be assigned to the independent Mohammedan state of Albania.

VI. Italy shall obtain in full ownership Valona, the island of Saseno, and territory of sufficient extent to assure her against dangers of a military kind—approximately between the River Vonussa to the north and east, and the district of Shimar to the south.

VII. Having obtained Trentino and Istria by Article IV, Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands by Article V. and also the Gulf of Valona, Italy undertakes, in the event of a small autonomous and neutralized state being formed in Albania, not to oppose the possible desire of France, Great Britain, and Russia to partition the northern and southern districts of Albania between Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. The southern coast of Albania, from the frontier of the Italian territory of Valona to Cape Stilos, is to be neutralized.

To Italy will be conceded the right of conducting the foreign relations of Albania; in any case Italy will be bound to secure for Albania a territory sufficiently extensive to enable its frontiers to join those of Greece and Serbia to the east of the Lake of Ohrida.

A Pacifist Premier

THE existence of the Government of M. Stamboulisky, Premier of Bulgaria and leader of the Peasants' party, has lately been threatened by radical and anti-dynastic uprisings and strikes. His own views on internal problems are expressed in the following address to the officers of the Bulgarian army, reprinted in a recent issue of *Naroden Glas* (Granite City, Illinois), from the Sophia *Zora*.

At the outset M. Stamboulisky reviewed the course of events from 1912 to the present, saying that the chief reasons for the national catastrophes had been Bulgarian diplomacy, the former Czar Ferdinand, and Bulgaria's grasping neighbors. Said he: "I opposed the three wars (Balkan and European) because I saw catastrophe coming. I fulfilled my duty toward the head of the nation, however monstrous this may seem to you. It was a question of saving the country from destruction, and at such moments one resorts even to illegal means.

"The officers were drawn into the war. They endured much, did their duty, but were disillusioned. My object was the opposite of yours. You upheld Ferdinand's throne, but I shook it in order that I might frighten him into doing his duty.

"I confess that while in prison I conspired against Ferdinand. Through soldiers and others I worked for a separate peace which I knew could not be, so long as Ferdinand was on the throne. The armistice having been signed, we now have a common object and should join hands.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"We must come to an understanding about the dynasty against which I have struggled. I do not hide the fact that I am a republican by conviction, but I cannot engage in revolution. If we could placate Versailles by doing away with the monarchy, I should try to persuade King Boris, who is a child of Bulgaria, an officer, and a soldier, to sacrifice himself for Bulgaria; and he is ready to sacrifice himself. But at Paris it became clear to me that this would in no wise lighten our heavy sentence. At this moment no one would profit by a revolution but our grasping neighbors, who are waiting to throw themselves upon our rich country and make it desolate. The world about us, which is ruled by dynasties, would estimate our revolution as some new Oriental cunning. A revolution would serve to fire the inflammable material piled up by the war. The danger which threatens us from the treaty is less than the danger of Bulgaria's being wiped off the map. We must reckon with the treaty and must extricate ourselves from the occupation, that we may stand on an independent footing.

"We are a wiry race, and we shall attain our national ideals by peaceful labor, by the strength of ideas, by culture. There we shall outdistance our neighbors. They have swallowed a great mass of stuff and it will not stay on their stomachs. They themselves will be seeking us. I do not despair. In 1915 I was more pessimistic. The injustice of Paris will not last long. Half the world is conquered and dissatisfied. And within the victorious countries themselves there is dissatisfaction.

"Be not downhearted, Bulgarian officers, heroes. There is no greater heroism than patience. There are a great many ways in which we can prepare the nation to protect the fatherland. A large proportion of you will doff the uniform, but will play your part in other ways. For you, too, we shall find some means of material support.

"You, Bulgarian officers, who served another policy, I beg you to reconcile yourselves to the new situation and to help on the new problems which I have set forth. Instead of compulsory military service let us have compulsory education; instead of officers, teachers. Let the young prepare roads and increase production. I beg for your coöperation in upholding order and peace, and in attaining our national ideals."

An Appeal of the Ukrainian Coöperatives

FOLLOWING is the text of a memorial recently addressed to Brigadier General Edgar Jadvin, member of the American commission to investigate pogroms in Poland, by representatives of the Pan-Ukrainian Coöperative Organizations.

All economic and cultural life of the Ukrainian people is incarnated and concentrated in their Coöperation, which is strictly national in its character. Having developed since the sixties of the last century along the same lines as British Coöperation and under the influence thereof, Pan-Ukrainian Coöperation unites at the present time over twenty millions of the people of the Ukraine and 1,378,000,000 [rubles] of its capital, which is composed almost exclusively of small shares which have really the character of small savings.

The membership and the capital are distributed among 14,326 primary coöperative unions, of which 2,847 with a membership of 2,200,000 are credit unions; 10,394 with a membership of 4,000,000, are consumers unions; and the rest, i. e., 1,085 unions, with about one-half million members, are agricultural coöperative unions. Thus the Pan-Ukrainian Coöperative Organizations actually represent the whole of the Ukrainian people.

The primary coöperative unions are united in 275 unions of unions, of which eleven are territorial or Pan-Ukrainian in their scope and activity. Of the latter the most important are the seven large and influential unions of unions, namely, the Union Bank, the Ukraine Bank, the Dnieper Union of Consumers Unions, the Central Union of Ukrainian Agricultural Coöperative Unions, the Pan-Ukrainian Coöperative Publishing Association, the Pan-Ukrainian Insurance Union, and the Central Coöperative Committee, the latter being the scientific and spiritual centre and leader of Pan-Ukrainian Coöperation.

As for the unions of unions for 1918, they possessed a capital of over one billion rubles. It should be noted that 6% of the capital has been invested in loans, chiefly for commercial operations. It appears that the lack of [?] in the markets and of transportation facilities compelled credit unions to reduce their credit operations and to invest their capital in commerce as well as in the establishment of their own industrial enterprises.

These enterprises are as follows: agricultural machinery and tool works, printing works, soap factories, food-producing establishments, flour mills, grain mills, oil-pressing works, sawmills, tobacco factories, knit-goods factories, boot and shoe factories, hide- and skin-working factories, etc. The establishment and the development of these coöperative enterprises are greatly impeded, however, by lack of machinery and chemical products.

Serious harm has recently been done to Pan-Ukrainian Coöperation by the sudden and abrupt annulment by the Volunteer Army authorities of the Russian Bolshevist Government currency, as a very considerable part of the capital of the Ukrainian Coöperative Organizations is composed of this currency. Meanwhile, as the shares of Ukrainian Coöperative capital constitute for all intents and purposes merely the savings of the Ukrainian people, they are no more subject to the annulment than any other savings deposited at the savings banks, which are not, however, liable to the annulment.

Serious harm has also been done to Pan-Ukrainian Coöperation by the Volunteer Army authorities, through the reintroduction of the Russian language in the Ukrainian primary and secondary schools. When, after two years' use of the native Ukrainian language in the schools a great success in public instruction has been obtained, and the illiteracy previously caused by the compulsory use of the Russian language has begun to disappear—at this very moment a new compulsory use of the Russian language is reinstated. This compulsory measure threatens to impede the success of the instruction of the masses of the Ukrainian people and to retard their enlightenment, although the latter comprises an integral part of the Ukrainian Coöperative System and a cardinal condition of success of our Ukrainian Coöperation. Thus any harm done to our public instruction is in reality a harm to the economic development of Ukrainian Coöperation and to the economic welfare of our people, causing indirectly a considerable damage to other peoples which have trade and commercial relations with our people.

In view of the foregoing, the Representatives of Pan-Ukrainian Coöperative Organizations respectfully request the United States Government:

(1) To grant to them on credit agricultural tools and machinery, printing works machinery, soap factory machinery, meat-packing machinery and tools, fruit and vegetable packing machinery and tools, cream separators, equipment for condensed milk factories, flour mill machinery, grain mill machinery, oil-pressing machinery, sawmill machinery, tobacco factory machinery, cotton mill machinery, woolen mill machinery, knit-goods machinery, plumbing works machinery, foundry works machinery, turning mills machinery, woodworking machinery, electric works machinery, pottery works machinery, and leather works machinery, to the amount of 500,000,000 rubles.

(2) Besides giving them on credit the foregoing machinery, to grant them a credit in the form of the installation of the aforementioned machinery, in their works and factories, the equipment thereof, and the sending of American engineers to direct, manage, and supervise the working of the factories and mills so equipped.

(3) To accept from us, in exchange for the credit so granted and in payment therefor, our raw materials and partly manufactured products, such as selected sugar-beet seed, flax fibre, hemp fibre, hides and skins, oil-cakes, flax-seed meal, nuts, wool, sugar, honey, eggs, and raw bacon.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(4) To appoint a special Federal commission composed largely of representatives of the great national coöperative organizations of the United States such as the Farmers' Equity Association, Farmers' Alliance, Farmers' Congress, National Grange, etc., which could and should deal directly with representatives of our Ukrainian National Coöperative Organizations shortly to go to the United States in order to establish stable and permanent trade and commercial relations between the Ukraine and the United States.

An Order of General Petlura

THE following daily order issued by General Petlura, Supreme Commander of the troops of the Ukrainian Republic, appeared in *Eastern Europe* (Paris) of November 1. We reprint the order without textual revision.

This order will be read in the divisions, the brigades, the regiments, the battalions and the companies of the armies of the Dnieper and of the Dniester and in the detachments of the insurgents.

The valiant Ukrainian troops, grouped by the national conscience of its sublime goal of liberation, and imbued with the great traditions of their ancestors, in advancing by a rapid and irresistible march to its highest destiny by the conquering of their enemies at the cost of their blood and that of their enemies.

It was written in history that our glorious Cossacks would carry on their bayonets liberty for the native country and happiness for all those who had lived there for a long time. The brigands of the world, the Bolshevists, on being suddenly attacked, retreated in panic towards the North in their obscure grotto. But they still remain on our territory, free but defiled by the stench of the bestial and shameless enemy. He is not satisfied with the noble blood of our combatants. He thirsts also for the blood of the most peaceful inhabitants. The sinister men of the "Black Hundred" and the "Red Hundred" are but one band. These instigators of all crimes, who had dropped their arms, have again left their hiding places and have recommenced their hideous struggle, on another ground. They are assiduously weaving the frightful spider's web, provoking pogroms of the Jewish population, and on many occasions they have incited certain backward elements of our army to commit abominable acts. They thus succeeded in defiling our struggle for liberty in the eyes of the world, and compromise our national cause.

Officers and Cossacks! It is time to know that the Jews have, like the greater part of the other members of our Ukrainian population, suffered from the horrors of the Bolshevist-Communist invasion, and follow the way to the truth. The best Jewish groups such as the "Bund," the "Unified," the "Poali Zion," and the "Folks Party," have willingly placed themselves at the disposal of the sovereign and independent Ukrainia, and coöperate with us.

It is time to learn that the peaceable Jewish population, its women, its children, have been imprisoned in the same way as ours and deprived of national liberty. This population has lived with us for centuries, and divides our pleasures and our sorrows.

The chivalrous troops who bring fraternity, equality, and liberty to all the nations of Ukrainia must not listen to the invaders and the provocators who hunger for human blood. They cannot either remain indifferent in face of the tragic fate of the Jews. He who becomes an accomplice to such crimes is a traitor and an enemy of our country, and he must be placed beyond the pale of human society.

Officers and Cossacks! The entire world is amazed at your heroism. Do not tarnish it, even accidentally, in an infamous adventure, and do not dishonor our Republic in the eyes of the world. Our many interior and exterior enemies have exploited the pogroms against us. They point us out and affirm that we are not worthy of an independent and sovereign existence and that we must be enslaved once again. I, your Supreme Commander, I tell you that at this very moment the International Tribunal is judging the cause of our independent and sovereign life.

Officers and Cossacks! You hold this cause in your hands. Ensure the victory by directing your arms against the real enemy, and remember that our pure cause necessitates clean hands. Be sure that all the enemies of our country will be severely punished by the just popular judgment. I expressly order you to drive away with your arms all who incite you to pogroms, and bring them before the courts as enemies of the state. And the tribunal will judge them for their acts, and the most severe penalties of the law will be inflicted on all those found guilty.

The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, conscious of the harm the pogroms have caused to the state, have addressed an appeal to all the inhabitants of the country to resist the entreaties of our enemies who provoke the pogroms of the Jewish population.

I order all troops to listen well and to retain this appeal and to propagate it as much as possible among their comrades and among the people.

PETLURA,
Commander-in-Chief

Women in Soviet Russia

THE following article on the emancipation of women in Russia, which appeared in *Le Populaire* (Paris) of January 10, is from a brochure by M. Lenin, entitled "The Great Beginning," a study of the organization of work in Soviet Russia.

It is a fact that, in the course of the past ten years not a single democratic party in the world, not one among the leaders of the bourgeois republics, has undertaken for the emancipation of women the hundredth part of what has been realized by Russia in one year. All the humiliating laws prejudicial to the rights of women have been abolished: for example those which made divorce difficult, the repugnant rules for inquiring into paternity, and other regulations relating to "illegitimate" children. Such laws are in force in all civilized states, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism. We are justly proud of our progress in this field. But as soon as we had destroyed the foundations of bourgeois laws and institutions we arrived at a clear conception of the preparatory nature of our work, destined solely to prepare the ground for the edifice which was to be built. We have not yet come to the construction of the building.

Woman remains, after all, the slave of the home. The emancipatory laws make no difference, for she is still subject to all the little household tasks which chain her to the kitchen and the nursery, and make her arduous and unproductive activity a bondage of petty torments, oppressive and degrading.

A true emancipation of women, a real communism, will be achieved only when the proletariat, taking the reins in its hands, shall organize the fight against domestic slavery—or, to put it better, when society shall be entirely reconstructed with a view to a general and socialistic organization of housekeeping.

The practical realization of this program has already begun. The result is as yet scarcely perceptible, but the tender early buds should not be underestimated. Community restaurants and kindergartens are, in their way, new growths, still far short of maturity, but adapted, none the less, to achieve in practice the emancipation of woman, thanks to the abolition of her inequality with man in the domain of production and of social life.

These means are not new. Like every part of the Socialist program, they have been in some measure realized by capitalism. But, under the capitalistic régime, they constituted only an exception. Moreover, they offered the saddest examples of specu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lation, greed, and fraud. Or they were turned into institutions of that bourgeois philanthropy so justly hated and scorned by the better elements of the proletariat.

We have, for the most part, taken these institutions in hand, and they are beginning to lose their old character. We do not shout it in the streets, although the bourgeois understands very well how to sing the praises of his institutions. In contrast to the bourgeois press, with its large circulation, which extols bourgeois enterprises as worthy to exalt the national pride, our papers do not pass their time celebrating the merits of our community kitchens. It is none the less true that they are based on these principles: economize work, be saving of materials, improve sanitary conditions, and free women from slavery.

N. LENIN

For the Defense of the Revolution

THE following resolution of the Moscow Committee of the Menshevist party of Russia, taken from the *Berner Tagwacht* of December 13, indicates the present attitude of the moderate Socialists toward the Soviet Government.

On the basis of the resolutions of the Central Committee and the general convention of the Moscow organization, the Moscow Committee resolves:

1. To call upon all members of the Moscow organization and the whole proletariat to enter the ranks of the Red Army, and the volunteer factory corps which is being organized by the Moscow Soviet.

2. To arrange for a mobilization of all members of the Moscow organization to give assistance to the Red Army and to agitate for the defense of the revolution on and back of the front. To this end all members are called upon to allow themselves to be registered (designation of place and time follows).

3. A specially-elected Commission will be charged to make, on the basis of the material available through the registration, a list of all party members who can be mobilized. This list must be approved by the Moscow Committee.

4. The same Commission will be instructed to enter into communication with the Commissar of Defense of the city of Moscow, with the Revolutionary Military Council, and with other official bodies, for the purpose of settling questions concerning the mobilization of the party.

5. All mobilized members of the Moscow organization must follow in their activities the directions of the party council.

An Irish Labor Program

THE Labor Program for Local Government Elections adopted by the Conference of the Irish Labor party and Trade Union Congress, held at Drogheda in August, is interesting in view of the election of some 394 labor candidates in the local elections on January 15. The following text of the Program appeared in the *Republic* (Dublin) of September 20.

The policy of the Labor party in local government affairs shall be to use the powers and machinery of local government towards attaining the objects defined in the Constitution of the Irish Labor party and Trade Union Congress, i. e.:

"To recover for the nation complete possession of all the natural physical sources of wealth of this country.

"To win for the workers of Ireland, collectively, the ownership and control of the whole produce of their labor.

"To secure the democratic management and control of all industries and services by the whole body of workers, manual and mental, engaged therein in the interests of the nation and subject to the supreme authority of the National Government."

Some of the following proposals may be put into operation without going beyond the present laws and regulations governing local authorities. Others will depend upon the amount of power in the people's hands to enforce their will:

(a) A Central Council to be formed consisting of delegates appointed by the local government bodies to advise and assist local bodies and coördinate their activities.

(b) Combined action to be taken by municipal bodies wherever possible—e. g., in promoting electric power schemes, provision of house-building material (brick, stone, cement, etc.), banking, insurance, holiday schools, convalescent homes, hospitals, etc.

(c) By similar coöperation between local bodies to arrange a qualifying examination for municipal workers—professional, clerical, and overseeing staffs.

(d) To discountenance corruption and bribery and graft in every form.

(e) To assist in developing the national resources on a non-profit-making basis.

(f) To set up machinery for keeping records of food supplies and food requirements with a view to ensuring a permanent supply of essential foods for both town and country.

(g) To make a survey of present industrial capacity and potentiality.

(h) Action also to be taken to encourage tillage and to discourage grazing.

(i) Recognition and encouragement to be given by municipal bodies to coöperative societies formed by agricultural and town workers, whether for production or distribution.

(j) Joint action between Town Councils and Boards of Guardians to establish useful productive undertakings—agricultural and industrial—to absorb the unemployed.

(k) Facilities for the supply of school meals, municipal cooked food depots, and restaurants to be provided either directly by the municipality or by coöperative societies assisted by the municipality.

(l) Municipal occupation and use of land, buildings, or machinery wherever it is unreasonably withheld from use.

(m) The fullest use to be made of the power to build, equip, and staff technical schools, libraries, and gymnasia, by means of which the mental and physical powers of the youth of the country may be developed and disciplined.

(n) Rigorous enforcement of the powers to close and demolish unsanitary houses.

A National Housing Authority comprising representatives of the local authorities and the trade unions in the building trade to take charge of the re-housing of the people throughout the country.

Houses to be let at a rental which does not include any charge for interest on capital expended, any such charge to be borne by the national exchequer.

(o) All employees of public bodies to be paid trade-union rates, with a minimum of 50/- per week for adults.

Enforcement of reasonable discipline and due service from all public employees. Amongst men and women engaged in the communal service it shall be held to be a disloyal act on the part of any worker to malinger or waste.

Subordinate officials to be selected jointly by the workmen and employing authority, subject to having passed the qualifying examination.

(p) The adoption of every available means to provide a free education with all facilities for every child in primary, secondary, technical, and university schools and colleges. No distinction to be made on account of the financial position of the parents.

Medical inspection and treatment of school children to be made universal and free.

(q) Public halls to be provided for use of trade unions and similar working-class organizations.

(r) Extension of school gardens in both town and country.

Provision of land for gardens for town and country workers, and assistance in promoting coöperation amongst plot-holders.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED